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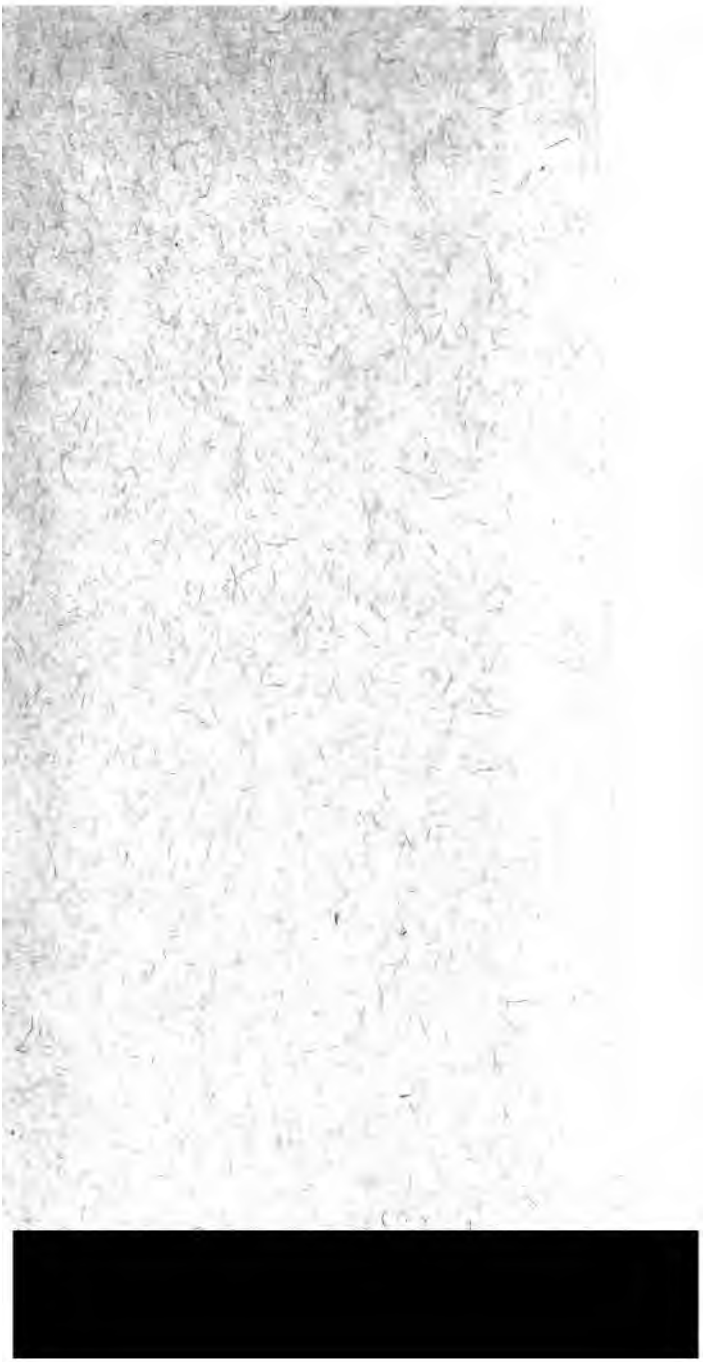

O'Leary

MISCELLANEOUS

TRACTS:

BY

THE REV. ARTHUR O'LEARY.

CONTAINING,

I. *A Defence of the Divinity of Chriſt and the Immortality of the Soul*: in anſwer to the author of a work, lately publiſhed in Cork, entitled, "Thoughts on Nature and Religion." Reviſed and corrected.

II. *Loyalty aſſerted*; or, a Vindication of the Oath of Allegiance; with an impartial enquiry into the Pope's TEMPORAL power, and the preſent claims of the STUARTS to the Engliſh throne: proving that both are equally groundleſs.

III. *An Addreſs to the common People of Ireland*, on occaſion of an apprehended invaſion by the French and Spaniards, in July, 1779, when the united fleets of Bourbon appeared in the Channel.

IV. *Remarks* on a letter written by Mr. Weſley, and a Defence of the Proteſtant Aſſociations.

V. *Rejoinder* to Mr. Weſley's Reply to the above Remarks.

VI. *Eſſay on Toleration*; tending to prove that a man's SPECULATIVE opinions ought not to deprive him of the rights of civil ſociety.

In which are introduced,

The Rev. John Weſley's Letter, and the Defence of the Proteſtant Aſſociations.

THE SECOND EDITION.

DUBLIN:
PRINTED BY JOHN CHAMBERS.

M.DCC.LXXXI.

VM

with that benevolence and charity enforced by the firſt principles of the Law of Nature, and confirmed by the ſacred Oracles which they all revere.

In my fugitive pieces, to which the circumſtances of the times have given riſe, you diſcovered the ſincerity of my deſigns, in attempting to diffuſe to the community at large, the influence of benignity. My feeble efforts have attracted your attention, and procured me the honour of your eſteem. With regard to the rights of ſociety, and protection due to the man who does not forfeit them by his miſconduct, the learned, the virtuous, the liberal-minded of all denominations, make no diſtinction; but, with every reſpect due to religion, leave fanaticiſm, the noxious vermin that neſtles in its wool, to prey upon the ulcerated heads of the bigots. Hence, neither my character of a Catholic Clergyman, which, in theſe Kingdoms, the prepoſſeſſion of ignorance has rendered ſo odious, nor the diſcountenance of the laws, which doom me to tranſportation, with the common malefactor, nor the diſagreeable circumſtances

TO THE

DIGNITARIES AND BRETHREN

OF THE ILLUSTRIOUS ORDER OF

THE MONKS OF ST. PATRICK.*

Reverend Fathers, and illuſtrious Brethren,

THE purport of the work which I have the honour to dedicate to your order, is to cement the bands of ſociety; to ſecure the ſafety of our country, by union and mutual confidence; to render the ſubject's allegiance firm, and at the ſame time reaſonable, by eſtabliſhing it on its proper grounds; to diſpel the miſts of long-reigning prejudice; after diſarming Infidelity, which ſtrikes at the foundation of religion, and the dignity of our nature, to induce the Chriſtians of every denomination to lay aſide the deſtructive weapons which frenzy has ſo often put into their hands; and, under their peculiar modes of worſhip, to inſpire them

 with

* A ſociety of Nobles and Gentlemen, compoſed of the greateſt orators and writers in Ireland; who, unſolicited, have done the author the honour of adopting him as one of their members.

2 IX 96

with that benevolence and charity enforced by the firſt principles of the Law of Nature, and confirmed by the ſacred Oracles which they all revere.

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of a profeſſion ſtill expoſed to the wanton laſh of every religious perſecutor, were deemed a ſufficient plea for excluſion from a ſociety compoſed of ſo many great and ſhining men.

Robertſon's religion has proved no obſtacle to his admiſſion among the Spaniſh academicians. You, my brethren, have ſet the brilliant example of philanthropy in this kingdom; and ſoared far above the ſphere of contracted minds. Happy for the world had the gentle voice of Nature been always liſtened to, and his religion forgotten in the man!

The calamities, of which a contrary conduct has been productive, are ſlightly glanced at in my treatiſe on toleration. In the two neighbouring kingdoms, the ſcenes which have been exhibited laſt year, are melancholy proofs, that a tolerating ſpirit, the fair offspring of candour and benevolence, confers happineſs on individuals, and gives nations a bloom and vigour which intolerance blaſts and enervates. In conſequence of the happy change in the diſpoſitions of the

the people, Ireland has ſeen her peaceful natives employed in the uſeful labours of life; her citizens, confident in each other, improving trade and commerce, under a variety of difficulties; her judges reſpected on their tribunals; and the pleaſing ſcenes of harmony and union ſpread through every province. Such the reſult of benevolence! Such the fruits of toleration! Such was our ſituation, when in Great-Britain nothing could be ſeen but the courſe of public juſtice ſuſpended, and martial law proclaimed; the law and the legiſlature trampled in their awful ſanctuary; the torn canonicals of biſhops, the lacerated robes of temporal peers, the ſtreets enſanguined with the ſtreaming blood of deluded victims; ſumptuous edifices changed into blazing piles; the conflagration of Rome renewed by the torch of religious frenzy; the houſes of inoffenſive citizens chalked out for deſtruction; a city given up to plunder; aſſaſſins and malefactors let looſe from their chains, and invited, by the hollow voice of fanaticiſm, to ſhare the ſpoils; a king on the verge of de-

ſtruction;

ſtruction; a kingdom on the eve of being plunged into the calamities of civil war; the ſword taking the place of the robe, and dictating to the violators of the law; and the ſtern hand of juſtice ſucceeding, in its turn, to the ſword, and ſweeping from the face of the earth, the gleanings of military execution. Such the poiſonous fruits of miſguided zeal, and religious intolerance! The ſeeds of ſuch diſaſters have been ſown in diſtant times, when barbarity, or the competition of princes, contending for the throne, contributed to divide the people; and, from a miſtaken policy, ſovereigns themſelves, in oppoſition to the maxims of legiſlation and wiſdom, thought it more eligible to become heads of the half, than the fathers of all their ſubjects.

Such meaſures weakened their arms abroad, and will ever prove deſtructive at home. In every plain the Engliſh generals met with their fellow ſubjects, diſputing the laurel, under the banners of kings who gave them encouragement.

The Catholic and Proteſtant powers on the Continent, by adopting a different

ent plan, and uniting their ſubjects of every denomination, in the ties of one common intereſt, ſtrengthened their reſpectives ſtates againſt the encroachments of each other, and prevented their dominions from being changed a ſecond time, into extenſive fields of battle, covered with bodies, fallen by the ſword of religious madneſs; or deſolate waſtes ſimilar to thoſe from whence reſtraints and diſtreſs have baniſhed the human ſpecies: the preſent Emperor's mother reſtored her Chriſtian ſubjects of every denomination, to the freedom and rights of citizens. The ſon has opened his calm boſom to the Jew, and is become the father of the man who blaſphemes the Saviour whom his ſovereign adores. Ireland! Ireland, where the Proteſtant gentleman gives alms to the pilgrim without enquiring into his religion, and where the Catholic peaſant preſſes his diſtreſſed fellow creature, to take ſhare of a handful of vegetables, ſcarce ſufficient to ſupport his own wretched exiſtence:——Ireland, whoſe generous ſons have more compaſſion and feelings for the ſtranger, than

their neighbours for the brothers of their blood—Ireland, where ſome ſtrokes given by a peer of the realm, to a poor inoffenſive prieſt in the laſt ſtage of a decay, which in a few days reſcued him from the miſeries of this life, "the law's delay, "and the proud man's contumely"—Ireland, where this ſcene raiſed ſuch indignation in the generous breaſt of every Proteſtant, that a lawyer*, who to the powers of the orator joins the courage of the hero, without fee or reward, pleaded for obſcurity againſt eminence, for weakneſs againſt power, and, after aſſerting the rights of humanity at the bar, went to encounter death in the field for a helpleſs client, in the laſt ſtruggles of the agony—Ireland, ſo famous for the generous ſentiments of her inhabitants, is the devoted ſpot, where out of a million and half of ſubjects, not one can become a coal meaſurer,—a common ſoldier,—an exciſe-man,—nor have more than two apprentices at a time! Their Diſſenting brethren, ſo humane in their private characters, and the profeſſors of whoſe religion are ſo tolerant in Holland and Switzerland,

* Counſellor Curran.

erland, conſider their Catholic neighbours as ſo many ſlaves ready to cut their throats, at the firſt ſignal given by their royal maſters, without whoſe concurrence the chain could never have been faſtened to their bodies. The kings of England on the other hand, whoſe treaſury would be better ſupplied by opulent ſubjects than by a million of naked and famiſhed objects, are obliged at an enormous expenſe, to hire foreign mercenaries of every religion, with their reſpective chaplains, whilſt their dauntleſs ſubjects are forced to throw themſelves into the arms of thoſe ſovereigns who pay them for fighting, and permit them to pray as they think fit. Thus government is diſtreſſed on one hand, and the kingdom is deprived of its ſtrength and internal reſources on the other. The Catholics, between their fellow ſubjects and the throne, are like the forlorn hope between two armies. They are doomed to civil deſtruction between both.

Europe will ſoon bear a different aſpect: and the examples ſet by thoſe princes who, for the aggrandizement of

diſtinctions, are ſo many warnings to copy after them. The Gauls, the Romans, the Carthaginians, thought themſelves once invincible. Their diviſions precipitated their downfal. No oracle has as yet declared that foreign candidates for glory and conqueſt will be deterred from attempting to become our maſters. The power to reſiſt becomes greater in proportion to the number of the ſubjects: In proportion to the ſtake they have to defend, their attachment to their country, their attachment to each other. A ſmall ſtate, rich, populous, and well united, is preferable to a large but divided kingdom. Let religious diſtinctions, then, be laid aſide. It is equal to the Iſraelite, releaſed from bondage, whether his temple be built by Solomon or Cyrus; provided he has liberty to pray unmoleſted, and to ſleep under his vine and fig-tree. Diſeaſes,—ſickneſs,—death, which mows down the young and old,—emigrations,—the waſte of war,—countries, now unknown, which will be hereafter diſcovered,—colonies that ever and always depopulate the parent-ſtate,—riſing empires,—and princes inviting ſtrangers to ſettle in their dominions,—will leave

leave land enough in Ireland, to the end of time, for ten times the number of its inhabitants.

The world is in a continual change. New monarchs ſway the ſceptre. New miniſters direct their councils. New characters are daily mounting the ſtage of life, to become the objects of the applauſe, deriſion, or cenſure of mankind. Every new generation is a new world, raiſed on the ruins of the former, aiming at their preſent advantages, without any retroſpect to paſt tranſactions, in which they are noways concerned. We frequently change our bodies. Reaſon on its travels from age to age, acquires a new mode of thinking. In a word, every thing is liable to change; and it is high time to change from diviſion to union.

Let not religion, the ſacred name of religion, which even in the face of an enemy diſcovers a brother, be any longer a wall of ſeparation to keep us aſunder: though it has been often perverted to the worſt of purpoſes, yet it is eaſy to reconcile it with every ſocial bleſſing.

In the courſe of this work, I intend to make Toleration a citizen of the world, inſtead of confining it to one kingdom or province. I am not an able, neither am I a partial advocate. I plead for the Proteſtant in France, and for the Jew in Liſbon, as well as for the Catholic in Ireland. In future ages ſhould fanaticiſm attempt to re-eſtabliſh her deſtructive empire, and, crying out with the frantic queen, "exo-"riare aliquis ex oſſibus noſtris," ſummon the furies to ſpring from her embers, which I attempt to diſperſe and deprive of their noxious heat, let this votive offering, hung up in the temple of the Order of the Monks of St. Patrick, announce to poſterity, that in ſeventeen hundred and eighty one, the liberal-minded of all denominations in Ireland, were reconciled, maugre the odious diſtinctions which the laws uphold, and that thoſe very laws, enacted before we were born, but not the diſpoſitions of the people, are the only ſources of our misfortunes.

Whatever tends to promote the public good, is a tribute due from an adopted brother, to great and illuſtrious characters,

ters, whoſe refined feelings can only be equalled by the culture of their minds: Who have tranſplanted to the Iriſh nurſery the flowers of Rome and Athens: Who in their writings and ſpeeches, have diſplayed to Europe the ſcene of eloquence, diverſified with the fire of Demoſthenes and the majeſty of Tully, and wreſted their thunderbolts from thoſe orators, in order to aſſert what they deemed the rights of mankind, to cruſh the falſe divinities that ſhould attempt to erect their altars on their ruins.

I have the honour to be,

Reverend fathers, and

Illuſtrious brethren,

Your affectionate brother,

Dublin, July 15, 1781.

ARTHUR O'LEARY.

A

DEFENCE

OF THE

DIVINITY OF CHRIST,

AND THE

IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL,

IN A SERIES OF LETTERS,

TO THE AUTHOR OF A WORK

ENTITLED

Thoughts on Nature and Religion.

Published at Cork, in the Year M,DCC,LXXVI.

A

DEFENCE, &c.

LETTER I.

TO THE AUTHOR.*

SIR,

YOUR long-expected performance has at laſt made its appearance. If the work tended to promote the happineſs of ſociety,—to animate our hopes,—to ſubdue our paſſions,—to inſtruct man in the happy ſcience of purifying the polluted receſſes of a vitiated heart,—to confirm him in his exalted notion of the dignity of his nature, and thereby to inſpire him with ſentiments averſe to whatever may debaſe the excellence of his origin,—the public would be indebted to you; your name would be recorded amongſt the aſſertors of morality and religion; and I myſelf, though bred up in a different perſuaſion from yours, would be the firſt

* A Scotch phyſician, who ſtyles himſelf Michael Servetus.

to offer my incenſe at the ſhrine of merit. But the tendency of your performance is to deny the Divinity of Chriſt, and the immortality of the ſoul. In denying the firſt, you ſap the foundations of religion; you cut off, at one blow, the merit of our faith, the comfort of our hope, and the motives of our charity. In denying the immortality of the ſoul, you degrade human nature, and confound man with the vile and periſhable inſect. In denying both, you overturn the whole ſyſtem of religion, whether natural or revealed. And in denying religion, you deprive the poor of the only comfort which ſupports them under their diſtreſſes and afflictions; you wreſt from the hands of the powerful and rich, the only bridle to their injuſtices and paſſions; and pluck from the hearts of the guilty, the greateſt check to their crimes, —I mean, this remorſe of conſcience, which, can never be the reſult of a handful of organized matter,—this interior monitor which makes us bluſh, in the morning, at the diſorders of the foregoing night!—which erects in the breaſt of the tyrant, a tribunal ſuperior to his power,—and whoſe importunate voice upbraids a Cain, in the wilderneſs, with the murder of his brother,—and a Nero, in his palace, with that of his mother. Such the conſequences naturally reſulting from the principles laid down

It is no intention of mine to faſten the odium of wilful infidelity on any perſon, who profeſſes his belief of the ſcriptures; though I am equally concerned and ſurprized that a gentleman, whoſe underſtanding has been enlightened by the Chriſtian revelation, and enlarged by all the aids of human learning, ſhould broach tenets, which equally militate againſt the firſt principles of reaſon, and the oracles of the Divinity, and which if true would be of no ſervice to mankind. Whoever is ſo unhappy as to work himſelf into a conviction, that his ſoul is no more than a ſubtile vapour, which in death is to be breathed out into the air, to mix confuſedly with its kindred element, and there to periſh, would ſtill do well to conceal his horrid belief with more ſecrecy than the Druids concealed their myſteries. In doing otherwiſe he only brings diſgrace on himſelf; for the notion of religion is ſo deeply impreſſed on our minds, that the bold champions who would fain deſtroy it, are conſidered by the generality of mankind, as public peſts, ſpreading diſorder and mortality wherever they appear; and in our feelings we diſcover the deluſions of a cheating Philoſophy, which can never introduce a religion more pure than that of the Chriſtians, nor confer a more glorious privilege on man, than that of an immortal ſoul. In a word, if it be a crime

to

to have no religion, it is a folly to boaſt of the want of it.

Whence then this eagerneſs to propagate ſyſtems, the tendency whereof is to ſlacken the reins that curb the irregularity of our appetites, and reſtrain the impetuoſity of paſſion? In our dogmatizing philoſophers, it muſt proceed from the corruption of the heart, averſe to reſtraint; or the vanity of the mind, which glories in ſtriking from the common path, and not thinking with the multitude.

Your unſpotted character, juſtifies you from any imputation of a deſign to infect others with the poiſon of a licentious doctrine: but vanity is one of thoſe foreign ingredients, blended by the loſs of original juſtice into our nature. It prefers *glorious* vices to obſcure virtues. It animates the hero to extend his conqueſts at the expenſe of juſtice; and ſtimulates the philoſopher to erect the banners of error on the ruins of truth. You ſeem to acknowledge it in your enquiries into the cauſes of error: "It was vanity in philoſophers which cauſed ſo many "different ſects and ſyſtems." I believe it. Montaigne was of the ſame opinion. Immerſed in an ocean of diſorders, glorying in appearance, in an utter extinction of remorſe, and

[redacted]

duces Free-thinkers to affect more impiety than they are really capable of. Lucretius in like manner, whoſe arguments againſt the immortality of the ſoul are the ſame with yours, corroborates your opinion, relative to the biaſs *vanity* gives thoſe ſoaring and philoſophical geniuſes, who ſtrike from the trodden path. When in glowing numbers he enforced his fond opinion of careleſs Gods and material ſouls, as favourable to the calm repoſe which the voluptuous bard, who makes his invocation to Venus, would fain enjoy without remorſe here, or puniſhment hereafter, he was well aware that his doctrine claſhed with the general ſenſe of mankind. But the philoſophical poet conſoles himſelf, with the flattering expectation of gratifying his vanity.

"'Tis ſweet to crop freſh flowers, and get a crown,
"For new and rare inventions of my own."
CREECH'S LUCRETIUS.

In a word, ſome men of learning plume themſelves upon the ſingularity of their opinions; and however they may diſclaim vanity, as the ſpring of their literary performances, yet it is one of thoſe ingredients which gives a zeſt to their compoſitions. And if ſingularity and novelty of invention, be ſtimulatives to ſelf-love, few authors of the age are more bound to guard againſt this dangerous and agreeable poiſon,

ſon, than the author of the *Thoughts on nature and religion.*

To range thoſe ſingularities under their proper heads, is almoſt impoſſible; and modeſty does not permit to tranſcribe from your book ſeveral paſſages of your allegorical commentary, on the ſecond chapter of Geneſis. *The coat of ſkins*, then, *with which God covered the man and woman after their fall, as well as the fruit ſo pleaſing to the eye, which the woman taſted*, I leave the Doctor in full poſſeſſion of. He is a married man, and ſkilled in the anatomy of all *parts* of the body*.

After giving his readers the important information, that Adam was diſpleaſed with his wife, for inducing him to a *faux pas*, which I believe no married man (except Adam, if we believe the Doctor) ever ſcrupled, he allegorizes ſome of the reſt of the chapter in the following manner: "God planted a garden eaſtward in "Eden," ſays the inſpired writer, "and there "he put them an whom he had formed". "What "is called a garden," ſays the Doctor, "I take "to be the human mind. By the river which "watered the garden, and afterwards divided "into four branches, is meant innocence di-

"vided

"vide into the four cardinal virtues." Here he loſes breath, for to allegorize all would be too tedious, and doubtleſs the public have room to regret the Doctor's omiſſion in not continuing the allegory to the end of the chapter.

He profeſſes his belief in the ſcriptures, but has the good luck to elude every difficulty which falls in his way, by the aſſiſtance of metaphors, and thinks himſelf the more authorized to take this freedom with Moſes, as he diſcovers a miſtake in the Bible. "I will ſtrike Egypt, "ſaith the Lord, from the tower of Syene to "the borders of Ethiopia. *Ezechiel.*" "Inſtead of Ethiopia," ſays the Doctor, "it "ſhould be Arabia, for Syene was ſituated on "the borders of Ethiopia."

Pray, Doctor, does a miſtake in geography on the part of the tranſlators of the Bible, invalidate the Moſaical account of man's innocence, together with his felicity in Paradiſe; the malice of the tempting ſpirit, and his appearance under the form of a ſerpent; the fall of Adam and Eve, fatal to all their poſterity; the firſt man juſtly puniſhed in his children, and mankind curſed by God; the firſt promiſe of redemption, and the future victory of men over the Devil who had undone them? Has not the memory of thoſe great events, and the fatal

fatal tranſition from original juſtice to the corruption of ſin, been preſerved in the golden and iron ages of the poets, their Heſperian gardens watched by dragons, and in the inchantments and worſhip of idolatrous nations, in whoſe incantations and ſuperſtitions, the ſerpent always bore, as it bears ſtill, a principal part. Allegorize Moſes as much as you pleaſe; he relates that God promiſed that *the woman's offspring would cruſh the ſerpent's head.* This very promiſe of a Redeemer, and man's victory through his grace, are foretold in the oracles of the Gentiles. Even Tacitus, though a mortal enemy to the Jews and Chriſtians, acknowledges, that it was a conſtant tradition amongſt the Oriental nations, that from the Jews would ſpring a conqueror, who would ſubdue the world. A tranſlator's miſtake as to the name of a town or tower, is no plea for ſcepticiſm, eſpecially as there are and have been, ſeveral towns of the ſame name in different places, which might have been the caſe with *Syene*; and cities which in a long ſucceſſion of time, have changed their names, or born different names at the ſame time, as is the caſe with Conſtantinople, which the Turks call Stamboul, and others Byzantium.

direction, with the frontiers of Ethiopia, is there any impropriety in ſaying, "I will ſtrike Egypt "from the tower of Syene to the borders of "Ethiopia?" Solinus relates, that there was a tower called *Syene* in lower Egypt. Ethiopia borders Egypt on the ſouth. In ſtriking Egypt, then, from the tower of Syene to the borders of Ethiopia, it is ſtruck from north to ſouth: that is, from one extremity to the other. The doctor, then, has loſt his time in correcting the prophet Ezechiel's map, and ſubſtituting Arabia for Ethiopia. Yet this paſſage of Ezechiel is his chief plea for allegorizing Geneſis: with what ſucceſs let the reader judge.

A warm fancy, in a paroxyſm of zeal, may indulge its boundleſs excurſions in the path of allegory, when obſcure paſſages and myſtical expreſſions open a field for interpretations and alluſions. Mead, Whiſton, Weſley, and the doctor himſelf, may diſcover the pope in the beaſt with ten horns; and Rome in the great city built on ſeven hills. The Jewiſh rabbins, after obtaining permiſſion to build a ſynagogue from the prince of Orange, applied to their benefactor, this famous paſſage of Iſaiah: "On "that day, ſeven women will take hold of one "man:" alluding to the Seven United Provinces that had elected him ſtadtholder; and I myſelf,

myſelf, if I were in humour, could, in a long-winded diſcourſe, enlarge upon the ſeven ſacraments, or the three theological and four cardinal virtues; and compare them to the ſeven golden candleſticks mentioned in the revelations of St. John. But in a hiſtorical narration, giving an account of the origin of the world,—of a garden planted with trees, watered with four rivers,—with their names,—the countries through which they flow,—the precious ſtones, mines and minerals, to be found in thoſe countries, &c.—the introduction of an allegory is the ſubverſion of reaſon.

Even where allegories can be uſed with any propriety, our maſters in rhetoric lay down as a rule, "that, in the chain of metaphors continued through the diſcourſe, aptneſs, reſemblance, and juſtneſs of alluſion, muſt be ſtrictly obſerved." What juſtneſs of alluſion is there between the *human mind*, and *a garden planted eaſtward in Eden, where God put the man whom he had created?* As much as there is in ſaying, *God made man, and placed him eaſtward in his mind.* What analogy is there between the *four rivers* and the *four cardinal Virtues?* Between *fortitude* and *Piſon* or the *Ganges*, with the effeminate natives that inhabit its

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Juſtice and *Gihon* or the *Nile*, with its crocodiles? *Temperance* and *Hiddekel* or the *Tygris*, which, as Moſes relates, and as geography informs us, *goeth towards the eaſt of Aſſyria*, a country famous in former days for the *intemperance* of its inhabitants? The four cardinal virtues being ſet afloat on the four rivers, and the doctor's imagination having ſpent the fire of his allegory, we are at a loſs what virtue to deſcribe by the onyx-ſtone, mentioned by Moſes in the following words: "The name of the "firſt river is Piſon; that is it which compaſſ- "eth the land of Havilah, where there is gold: "and the gold of that land is good: and there "is bdellium and the onyx-ſtone." By *gold*, doubtleſs, he muſt mean *charity* or *patience*. But of the *onyx-ſtone* there are four kinds: and we would be obliged to our dogmatizing philoſophers for deſcribing their four correſpondent virtues.

Let them inform us, in like manner, whether the *bdellium* mentioned by Moſes, be one of the *theological* or a branch of the *cardinal* virtues. For though in diſpenſatories, the bdellium be allowed to be a good noſtrum of an emollient and diſcutient quality, yet the learned, whether commentators of ſcripture or natural philoſophers, are no more agreed about the true nature of bdellium, than they are about the manner

manner how it is produced: and it is much doubted whether the bdellium of the ancients be the ſame with the modern kind.

Thus, in the diſputes about a drop of gum refin, the nature and production whereof perplex the moſt learned, we diſcover the weakneſs of human reaſon. We cannot diſſect a fly; and we would fain comprehend the ways of Providence. We would fain ſound the unfathomable ocean of the Chriſtian religion, and arraign its myſteries at the tribunal of a glimmering reaſon, when the ſmall atom that ſwims on the ſurface, baffles our ſevereſt ſcrutiny.

I have the honour to be, &c.

ARTHUR O'LEARY.

LETTER II.

SIR,

TO our modern philoſophers, who ſet up the proud idols of their own fancies in oppoſition to the oracles of the Divinity,—and, endeavouring to diſcover abſurdities in the Chriſtian religion, fall into greater,—we can, without diſclaiming our title to good manners, apply what St. Paul applied to the philoſophers of his time: "They "became vain in their imaginations: profeſ- "ſing themſelves to be wiſe, they became "fools." In order to ſap the foundations of revealed religion,—and to make man the ſport of chance, who neither loſt any privilege by Adam's fall, nor gained any thing by Chriſt's redemption,—they endeavour to obtrude Moſes on the public as an allegorical writer. Examine his character, and acknowledge their folly.

Beſides his divine miſſion, in what hiſtorian does truth ſhine more conſpicuous? He relates his perſonal defects, as well as the extraordinary powers with which the Lord inveſted him; deduces a long chain of patriarchs from the firſt man down to his days; traces a genealogy, in which

which every chief is diſtinguiſhed by his peculiar character. In quitting Egypt, the nurſery of fiction, did it comport with the dignity of the legiſlator and commander of a choſen people, to write romances? In the ſpace of five hundred years, from Noah's death to Moſes' time, could the fall of man and his expulſion from Paradiſe be forgotten? And, as he had enemies, would not they have charged him with impoſture? Or was he the only perſon amongſt the Jews, who was inſtructed by his father? In a word, it was out of his power to deceive the Jews; much leſs was it his inclination or intereſt. All, then, is coherent in Moſes: and to his genuine narrative we are indebted for the knowledge of ourſelves: for, without the aid of revelation, man would ever be an inexplicable myſtery.

In believing my deſcent from a father created in a ſtate of perfection, from whence he fell, —a father on whoſe obedience or diſobedience my happineſs or miſery depended,—I can account for the corruption of my nature, and all the train of evils which have deſcended to Adam's children. Without this clew to direct me, I muſt be for ever entangled in a labyrinth of perplexities. Let philoſophy glory in levelling man with the brute, and ſay that there

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was always the ſame, deſtined to gratify his appetites, and to die;——I am really perſuaded that I muſt renounce common ſenſe, if I believe that man is now the ſame that he was in coming from his Maker's hands. The oppoſition between our paſſions and reaſon is too palpable, to believe that we were created in ſuch an exceſs of contradictions. Reaſon dictates to be temperate, juſt, and equitable; to deal with others as I would fain be dealt by; not to infringe the order of ſociety; to pity and relieve the afflicted: my paſſions, thoſe tyrants ſo cruel, prompt me to raiſe myſelf on the ruin of others; to tread in the flowery paths of criminal pleaſures; and to ſacrifice my enemy to my reſentment. If God, then, be the author of reaſon,——and that it is granted to man to regulate and curb his inclinations,—miſery and corruption were not our primitive ſtate.

Philoſophers, in a ſtrain of irony, may deride our Bible and catechiſm, and laugh at our folly for believing that an apple could entail ſuch miſeries on mortals: but let them ſeriouſly conſider the multitude and greatneſs of the evils that oppreſs us; and how full of vanity, of illuſions, of ſufferings, are the firſt years of our lives; when we are grown up, how we are ſeduced by error, weakened by pain, inflamed

by luſt, caſt down by ſorrow, elated with pride:—and aſk themſelves whether the cauſe of thoſe dreadful evils be the injuſtice of God or the original ſin of man.

The evidence of thoſe miſeries forced the pagan philoſophers to ſay, that we were born only to ſuffer the puniſhment we had deſerved for crimes committed in a life before this. They, doubtleſs, were deceived as to the origin and cauſe of our miſeries: but ſtill ſome glimmering of reaſon did not permit them to conſider thoſe calamities as the natural ſtate of man. But religion reforms the error, and points out, that this heavy yoke, which the ſons of Adam were forced to bear, from the time that their bodies are taken from their mother's womb, to the day that they are to return to the womb of their common mother, the Earth, would not have been laid upon them, if they had not deſerved it, by the guilt they contract from their origin.

But religion, as far as it includes myſteries, you think yourſelf at liberty to diſcard: becauſe you "cannot conceive how God could "require of man, a belief of any thing which "he has not endowed him with powers to "conceive."* Hence you reject the myſtery

of the Trinity, as an invention of the clergy, borrowed from the poetical fable of the three brothers, Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto; the Divinity of Chriſt, as an impoſition of the Church; and the immortality of the ſoul, as the fruit of ſcholaſtic ſubtlety.

You think the religion of nature a ſufficient guide, and prefer Socrates and Cato to the clergy of the Chriſtian religion. The great Cato, whom you applaud for his bon mot when he ſaid, that he was ſurprized *how two prieſts could meet without burſting out into a fit of laughter.* Do not confide too much, my dear Sir, *in reaſon and this boaſted law of nature*, which formed an Ariſtides, a Socrates, a Cato whom you applaud *for laughing at prieſts.* Whatever tricks or juggles might have been played in the receſſes of the Capitol, where the Sibylline oracles were depoſited, to anſwer the purpoſes of ſtate,—to animate the people to war, from an expectation of ſucceſs, under the protection of Jupiter or Apollo,—and to ſupport the pride and policy of Roman grandeur;——the prieſts of the Chriſtian religion do not conceal their belief. Cato might laugh in ſeeing his colleague, for reaſons beſt known to themſelves: and doubtleſs, the prieſt, who came to the Roman lady with a meſſage from Apollo, informing her that the God intended to honour her that

night with his company, by ſleeping with her in his temple, laughed heartily in ſeeing the young gentleman who bribed him to the cheat, and the more ſo, as on the day following the lady gave the public to underſtand, that however great Apollo might have been, in his quality of God, honoured with altars and temples, he had nothing extraordinary in his quality of companion. Cato's *prieſts* then might have laughed in ſeeing one another; the myſteries and rites of their Gods, as debauched and corrupt as themſelves, afforded ſcenes of impure mirth: and the Chriſtian clergy are obliged to the Doctor for putting them and the three *brothers*, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, whom they worſhip, on a level with the heathen prieſts and their Jupiter, who raviſhed Ganymedes, Neptune and his ſea nymphs, and Pluto, who carried off Proſerpina.

In ſpite of the preference, given by the doctor to Cato and Socrates, over the Chriſtian clergy, and the ſufficiency of the law of nature to regulate the conduct of man, we can aſſure him, that under the direction of a Chriſtian mother who never *ſtudied philoſophy*, a child imbibes ſublimer notions of the Divinity, and purer ideas of virtue than Plato ever taught in the academy, or Ariſtotle in the Lyceum. What

Free-thinkers ſo often introduce on the ſtage, as paragons of wiſdom, in order to play the dazzling glaſs in the eyes of the unwary, by making reaſon their only oracle, and painting religion as prieſt-craft? Some doubted of their own exiſtence, and conſequently of the exiſtence of a God. Some figured to themſelves an indolent God, who never concerned himſelf in the affairs of mortals, equally indifferent about vice or virtue; who, to uſe the words of Lucretius,

"Ne'er ſmiles at good, ne'er frowns at wicked deeds."

Some conſidered the Supreme Being as the ſlave of deſtiny. Others as incorporate with the univerſe, and a part of a world which is the work of his hand.

What extravagant notions concerning the nature of the ſoul! In one ſchool it was an aſſemblage of atoms; in another it was ſubtile air; in a third ſchool it was a *ſomething* which after its ſeparation from one body entered into another; roaming from heaven to earth and from earth to heaven, without any permanent abode; alternately ſwaying the ſceptre of authority in the hands of the monarch, and animating the body of a beaſt of burden. Their great remedy againſt the terrors of death, conſiſted in a falſe but flattering way of reaſoning. "Either the ſoul dies with the body, or ſurvives "it. If it dies with the body it cannot ſuffer. If

"it

"it survives it, it will be happy." Not reflecting that the horrors of sin, and infinite justice, may appoint an intermediate state, wherein man is eternally miserable. Hence all the reins were slackened, and the most abominable crimes honoured with priests, altars and temples. Public worship became a public prostitution. Incest, impurity, drunkenness, hatred, pride, were deified under the fictitious names of Jupiter, Juno, Venus, Mars, &c. and criminal Gods were worshipped with crimes.

It was not the mountain inhabited by the rude and uncivilized, which alone was polluted with the smoak of profane incense: the nations most renowned for learning and refinement,—Romans; Greeks, and Egyptians,—in the midst of their cities, saw sumptuous edifices consecrated to the passions which the gospel condemns. By their mistakes and errors, it is easy to perceive the weakness of reason, and the necessity of revealed religion.

Your Philosophers, whom our Modern Freethinkers are ever extolling, with a view to degrade the Christian religion and its ministers, never escaped the general contagion. Your Cato, besides suicide, was guilty of levities *of a softer nature* than the steel with which he killed

fain obtrude on the ignorant, as *a martyr to truth and the original religion of nature*, acknowledges in his defence, that he worſhipped the Gods of his city, and was ſeen on public feſtivals ſacrificing at their altars. His wreſtling naked with his pupil, Alcibiades, was an attitude ill-ſuited to the character of a man, entitled to a place in the calendar of ſaints. What ſhall I ſay of the Cynics, who laid aſide all the natural reſtraints of ſhame and modeſty? Of Chryſippus, the advocate of inter-marriages between fathers and daughters? Of the Perſian Magi, who married their mothers? Of Seneca, playing the moraliſt in public, debauching his ſovereign's wife in private, and preferring his pretended wiſe man to God himſelf? What ſhall I ſay of the *divine Plato*, who annihilates the inſtitution of connubial ties? who by introducing a community of women, and refuſing the huſband any excluſive property in the marriage bed, would fain introduce a horrid confuſion amongſt men; confound all paternal rights, which nature itſelf reſpected, and people his republic with inhabitants, uncertain of their origin; without tenderneſs, affection, or humanity: Whereas in ſuch a ſtate it would have been impoſſible for the ſon to know his father.

Such is the boaſted *reaſon* you take for your guide, and lo, the great luminaries it has produced!

duced! A ſet of proud men, bewildered in a labyrinth of the moſt monſtrous errors. If our modern philoſophers are more refined than thoſe antient ſages, it is to the Chriſtian religion, which they would fain overthrow, to the writings of its doctors, whom they deride, and to the firſt principles of a Chriſtian education, which they cannot entirely forget, that they are indebted for their ſuperiority.

Before revealed religion diſpelled the miſt, reaſon was overſpread with error, in the breaſts of the greateſt men. It is no more than a bare capacity to be inſtructed; an engine veering at every breath; equally diſpoſed to miniſter to vice as well as to virtue, according to the variety and cuſtoms of different climates. It did not hinder the Egyptian from worſhipping leeks and onions, nor the Athenian, Socrates, from offering a cock to Eſculapius.

But is man to be debarred the uſe of his reaſon? or has he any thing to dread for not believing myſteries he cannot comprehend? Make full uſe of your reaſon, not with a deſign to fall into ſcepticiſm, but with a ſincere deſire to come at the knowledge of the truth. Reaſon is never better employed than in diſcovering the will of its author: and when once we diſcover that

geſts that it is our duty to ſubmit; otherwiſe we are guilty of rebellion againſt the firſt of ſovereigns; and to deny his power to puniſh the diſobedience of his creatures, is more than you have attempted.

This important enquiry ſhould be attended, with a pure heart and fervent prayer. However a philoſopher may laugh at the hint, *as Cato would laugh if he met a prieſt.* It was after a fervent prayer Solomon received his wiſdom: after a fervent prayer Cornelius the Centurion obtained the privilege of becoming the firſt convert from amongſt the Gentiles. Even the heathen, Democritus, who figured ſo much amongſt the literati of his time, conſtantly prayed the Gods to ſend him good images. Religion would not ſeem ſo abſurd, the number of Free-thinkers would not be ſo great, if we made it our buſineſs to purify the heart, and earneſtly to beg of the Divinity to enlighten our underſtandings. For the paſſions of the heart, and too much confidence in ourſelves, pave the way for the errors of the mind. Solomon became diſſolute and voluptuous before he fell into Idolatry. We ever and always loſe our innocence before we laugh at our catechiſm.

But a philoſopher requires argument, and leaves prayer to the vulgar. Reaſon is too precious

cious a gift to be offered at the ſhrine of religion: yet from St. Paul, to whom the Roman governor ſaid that too much learning had turned his head, down to John Locke, the great hiſtorian of the human underſtanding, the greateſt men the world ever produced, have believed myſteries beyond their comprehenſion. They all knew that God cannot lie, nor deceive mortals, but that man is liable to error. If then my reaſon diſcovers, that the motives of credibility are ſufficient to induce me to believe, that God has propoſed ſuch and ſuch a doctrine; the ſame reaſon immediately whiſpers, *believe your God, for he can do more than you can comprehend.*

In denying myſteries, becauſe we cannot comprehend them, we may as well deny our exiſtence. For our very exiſtence is a myſtery we can never comprehend. How many valves and ſprings, how many veins and arteries, what an aſſemblage of bones, muſcles, canals, juices, nerves, fluids, tubes, veſſels, requiſite to make that frail being called man? Great partizans of *nature and reaſon* (words often uſed to veil your ignorance), take a handful of duſt and ſhape it into the figure of a man, bore the veins and arteries, lay the ſinews and tendons,

philoſophical breath, make it move, walk, ſpeak, concert plans, form ſchemes; make it ſuſceptible of love, fear, joy, hope, deſire, &c. then we will recognize your comprehenſive knowledge of the imperceptible progreſs, and divine mechaniſm of the human frame. For the formation of each of us is as wonderful as the formation of the firſt. Your very bodies of which you are ſo fond, are *myſteries* in which your reaſon is loſt; and you would fain have a religion which propoſes nothing but what your reaſon comprehends. Thouſands of years elapſed before Hervey diſcovered the circulation of the blood. Thouſands will elapſe before the delicate texture of the human frame is known.

Diſengage yourſelves, if you can, from the impenetrable folds and darkneſſes of your own frames. Take a ſurvey of all the objects that ſurround you, you plunge into an abyſs overſpread with darkneſs and obſcurity. Explain to us how one and the ſame water paints and dyes the different flowers into various colours, the pink, the lily, the tulip, the roſe; or how from an inodorous earth they draw their ſweet perfumes! The cell of the bee, which that little inſect makes according to the niceſt rules of geometry, without ſtudying the mathematics, and in the conſtruction whereof, the curious have obſerved all the advantages which geometers derive

rive from Newton's doctrine of fluxions, the minima and maxima, and the extraordinary contrivance, whereby a leſs quantity of ſurface is ſufficient to contain a given quantity of honey, which ſaves that creature much wax and labour. The cell of the bee,—the granary of the ant,—the heart, lungs, liver, &c. of the mite,—baffle your learned reſearches.

From the immenſe bodies ſwimming in the azure fluid above, to the blade of graſs which ſprings under your feet, every thing is a *myſtery* to man.

If you range in the boundleſs region of the abſtract ſciences, what a fathomleſs ocean of truths which you muſt acknowledge, without comprehending! Lines eternally drawing near to each other, without ever meeting! Motion for ever ſlackening, without ever coming to a point of reſt! The infinite divifibility of matter, whereby a ſmall grain of wheat incloſes in itſelf as many parts (though leſſer in proportion) as the whole world! The ſmalleſt part of the ſame grain containing another world, and the leaſt part of that part, as ſmall, with reſpect to the grain, as the grain is, with reſpect to the entire frame of the univerſe, and ſo on, to

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If, then, the vigour of our wit muſt yield to an atom of matter, is it not an abuſe of reaſon, to refuſe our aſſent to truths propounded by an All-wiſe and Omnipotent Being, only becauſe they are above our conception?

If nature be, then, a myſterious book, cloſed up with a ſeven-fold ſeal, is it not preſumption and blindneſs in man, not to ſubmit to unerring wiſdom? Revealed religion once ſecluded, a faint light and lame kind of liberty would be our boaſted privilege. Wounded man could never find, in his reaſon, ſufficient light to diſcover the truths of eternal life; nor in his liberty, ſufficient ſtrength to follow their dictates. Like the bleeding traveller, on the road of Jericho, he ſtands in need of the aſſiſtance of ſome foreign and healing hand.

"It is none of his fault," ſays St. Auſtin, who had himſelf been a proud and voluptuous philoſopher, "if he cannot make uſe of his "broken limbs: but he is guilty, if he deſpiſes "the phyſician who proffers to cure him: and "he is humbly to acknowledge his weakneſs, "to obtain help. This aſſiſtance is miniſtered, "not by the law of nature, but by the *tree of* "*life*, who ſays of himſelf: I am the vine: you "are the branches: without me, you cannot do "any thing."

The

The two fatal ſprings of our evils, are—the error of the mind, and the infirmity of the will. In Him we find the remedy,—the light of revelation to diſpel our darkneſs, and his enlivening grace to purify the heart. You are ready to acknowledge him as the divine and inexhauſtible fountain of both, if once ſome paſſages, which, in your opinion, militate againſt his Divinity, could be reconciled. An attempt ſhall be made in my next letter.

I have the honour, &c.

LETTER

LETTER III.

SIR,

AN incarnate God, whoſe bleeding wounds have paid our ranſom, is one of thoſe myſteries that ſtuns and diſconcerts human reaſon, liable to ſtray through the winding paths of roving error, if the clew of faith do not direct our ſteps and miniſter its aſſiſtance. He appeared on earth to cancel our crimes; to nail to the croſs the ſchedule of our condemnation; to lacerate and tear the woful hand-writing that gave us over to rebel-angels; to ſnatch ſinful man from the hands of divine juſtice; and to unlock the awful gates of the eternal ſanctuary, whither no mortal has acceſs, but through the blood of the ſpotleſs pontiff. He appeared, in fine, to raiſe, through his merits, all thoſe who fell by Adam's guilt; to form a faithful and holy people,—a faithful people, "by captivating their under-"ſtanding to the yoke of faith,"—and a holy people, whoſe converſation, according to St. Paul, ought to be in Heaven; and who are to follow no longer the dictates of the fleſh.

Our

Our ignorance of his nature would expoſe us to the fatal alternative—either of becoming idolaters in worſhipping a man, which is the caſe of all Chriſtians, if your opinion be well grounded, —or of refuſing God the homage that is due to him, which is your caſe, if you miſtake and err. If Chriſt be not God, the Chriſtians are in the ſame caſe with the idolatrous Tartars, who worſhip a living man: and if he be God above all, and bleſſed for ever, you may as well believe the Alcoran, as believe the ſcriptures; and invoke Mahomet, as invoke the ſon of Mary. He declares, "that life eternal conſiſts in the "knowledge of Himſelf, and of the Father "who ſent him." In ſuch an important article, it is too hazardous to plead ignorance, in hopes of impunity: for the ſcripture ſays, that "there "is a way which man thinks to be the right "one: and the end thereof are the ways of "death." The Divinity of Chriſt, evidenced by the accompliſhment of ſo many oracles, and ſupported by the concurrent teſtimonies of all nations and ages, ſince his appearance on earth, has ſo many apologiſts, that the doctor can eaſily meet with ſome of them in every library, and, I doubt not, in his own; and that it were preſumption in me to attempt going over the ſame ground; eſpecially after what Abadie and

city of the ſcriptures; and found your doubts, either on the obſcurity of ſome paſſages, or the miſapplication of ſome prophecies, or the numberleſs texts, relating to Chriſt's humanity. In this walk, I take the liberty of attending you, ſtep by ſtep; and ſhall avoid, as much as poſſible, any long digreſſion; leſt we may ſtray too far from the path.

OBSCURITY.

You affirm, that the firſt chapter of St. John, in which the Divinity of Chriſt is aſſerted, "In "the beginning was the Word; and the "Word was with God; and the Word was "God;" is intricate and obſcure. It is quite the reverſe; and Chriſt's Divinity cannot be read in more legible characters. You underſtand by the *Word*, "the Man Jeſus, whom "God raiſed up in time, and to whom God im- "parted extraordinary gifts." In underſtanding by the *Word*, the *Man Jeſus*, you are in ſimilar circumſtances with king Agrippa, who ſaid: "Paul, Paul, you have made me almoſt a "Chriſtian." You would be entirely a Chriſtian, if you added to "the Man Jeſus, whom "God raiſed up in time," *the God Jeſus, who was begotten from eternity:* according to the ſaying of the pſalmiſt, "Before the morning- "ſtar I have begotten thee:"—words which

Chriſt applies to himſelf. Or you underſtand by the foregoing words, "In the beginning was "the Word," &c. *truth and righteouſneſs, co-eternal with the Divinity.* Permit me to tell you, that you explain one obſcurity by another; and that, notwithſtanding all your ſhifts, either the evangeliſt did not know what he was ſaying, or you muſt abſolutely allow an eternal and pre-exiſtent principle, united to human nature, "in "the fulneſs of time."

To prove what I advanced, I ſhall adopt your interpretation, and place *Truth* in the room of *Word*. "In the beginning was the "*Truth:* and the *Truth* was with God: and "*God was the Truth.*" Remark, here, that *God* and the *Truth* are identified:——*God was the Truth.* In the ſame chapter, it is ſaid: "The "Word was made fleſh, and dwelt amongſt "us." In adopting your interpretation, it will be—"The *Truth* was made fleſh, and dwelt "amongſt us," viz. the ſame *Truth* of which he ſaid before, that it was God himſelf,—and then the entire ſenſe will be—*God, the Truth, was made fleſh, and dwelt amongſt us.* Upon the whole, you are to acknowledge an eternal, pre-exiſtent principle, aſſuming human nature; or to reject this chapter as ſuppoſititious, which

You accuſe the Engliſh tranſlators of ſome deſign, in tranſpoſing theſe words, Καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ Λόγος. "And God was the Word," which they have Engliſhed, "And the Word was "God," as if they intended to promote the Chriſtian cauſe by an artful tranſpoſition.

I ſee no advantage you can derive from ſo ſevere and injurious an intimation. Whether we ſay, "God was the Word," or "the Word "was God," the ſenſe is the ſame: for, in all languages, it is the nature of the copulative verb (is) to identify the predicate and the ſubject, if it be not followed by ſome excluſive particle or negative word. *Peter was or is that man:* tranſpoſe the words, and ſuch will be the reſult of the tranſpoſition: *that man was or is Peter.* The ſenſe is the ſame in both caſes: and the ſame may be ſaid, and is true, whether we ſay, "God was the "Word," or "the Word was God."

This chapter is as clear as the firſt chapter of St. Paul's epiſtle to the Coloſſians, wherein he ſets forth and extols the qualities of our divine Redeemer, "by whom were made all things in "Heaven and on earth, viſible and inviſible; "whether thrones, or dominations, or princi- "palities, or powers: all things were created "by him and in him: and he is before all: and "all things ſubſiſt in him."*.

* Verſe 16, 17.

If all things, that are, were made by him, he himſelf was not made: and his divine power is ſignified, when it is ſaid, "all things ſubſiſt," or are preſerved by him.

Further: Critics lay down a general rule, whereby to elucidate the ſenſe and meaning of authors, viz. to know the time in which they lived; the circumſtances in which they wrote; and the adverſaries with whom they were engaged. The application of the rule evinces the literality of the firſt chapter of St. John, which puzzled and perplexed the Arians and Socinians, and exhauſted the metaphyſics of the ſubtle Crellius. St. John wrote his goſpel at the requeſt of the Aſiatic biſhops, in oppoſition to the falſe doctrine of Ebion and Cerinthus, who denied the Divinity of the Son of God. Motives, circumſtances, the nature of the queſtion, the doctrine of his adverſaries, all concur to prove that he is to be underſtood in a literal ſenſe: a ſenſe ſo free from any myſterious obſcurity, that the Platonic philoſophers, according to St. Auſtin, diſcovered, in this chapter, the Divinity of the Son of God. "But they were too proud," ſays this father, "to acknowledge the lowneſs "of his humanity."

SECOND OBSCURITY.

thew, who ſays, " that Jacob was father to Jo-
" ſeph, the huſband of Mary," to St. Luke, who ſays, " that Heli was Joſeph's father." But this ſeeming contradiction vaniſhes, if we pay attention to the manner in which the Jews ſometimes traced their genealogy. In Deuteronomy*, the law declares, " that if one brother
" dies without children, the ſurviving brother
" ſhall marry his relict, in order to raiſe up
" iſſue for the deceaſed," which iſſue was to bear his name. Hence, a twofold genealogy amongſt the Jews; the one legal, the other natural. Jacob and Heli were brothers. Heli died without iſſue. Jacob married his relict, and begot Joſeph, the huſband of Mary. Thus, when St. Luke calls Heli " Joſeph's father," he means, his father, according to the law: and when St. Matthew calls Jacob " Joſeph's fa-
" ther," he means, his father, according to nature: and by this means, the evangeliſts are eaſily reconciled. Other ſolutions are given to this difficulty, and you are at your option to give the preference to which you chooſe. The Jewiſh records and their family-regiſters have been burnt with the archives of their temple. We live at too great a diſtance to ſettle the genealogies of their families. The evangeliſts, beſides the gift of inſpiration, had every information: as they were nearer the times. In certain countries,

* Chap. xxv.

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the houſe of David, until a child is born of a virgin, in a miraculous manner, who would be God himſelf, *Immanuel:* and, as there was not ſuch a miraculous child in his kingdom, he might reſt ſecure, that the ſceptre ſhould not depart ſo ſoon from the royal line. Thus, his alarms, concerning the houſe of David, are quieted, in hearing the prophecy foretelling a miraculous birth, which was to happen at a diſtant period. There ſtill remained another doubt, viz. whether the confederate kings would take Jeruſalem, beſieged by ſuch powerful forces? and this the prophet removed, by telling him, that his own child * ſhould not be of age to diſcern good from evil, before the two kings would be cut off.

Between Immanuel and Maher-ſhalal-haſhbas there is not the leaſt connexion. The firſt ſignifies, in Hebrew, "God with us:" the ſecond ſignifies, "haſten to take the ſpoils: make haſte "to take the prey." The one is conceived by a virgin: the other is the fruit of connubial ties: and the prophet expreſly declares it †. Upon this occaſion, we do not read, that he married a ſecond wife: neither was polygamy familiar to auſtere perſons of the prophetic profeſſion: and the third verſe, of the ſeventh chapter, abſolutely precludes

precludes a ſtate of virginity, whereas the prophet is commanded to go with his ſon to meet the king: and this ſon muſt be older than Maher-ſhalal-haſhbas.

The prophecy, then, relates to two different perſons,—Immanuel and Maher-ſhalal-haſhbas; two different objects,—the exciſion of the royal line of David, and the reduction of Jeruſalem; two different events and ſigns,—the raiſing of the ſiege, and the defeat of the two confederate kings, which was to be accompliſhed ſpeedily, before the prophet's child could cry to his father and mother: and the other, I mean the total extinction of the Jewiſh regal authority, when the ſceptre was to be wreſted from David's deſcendants, and lodged in the hands of the Eſſenian kings, under the protection of the Romans, about the time of Immanuel's birth, "who is "God above all, and bleſſed for ever."

Should any doubt ſtill remain, concerning this famous prophecy, faith is the firm anchor that ought to fix the doubts of a fluctuating mind: and humility ſhould be ſo far prevalent, as to induce us to prefer the opinion of an inſpired writer before our own. We muſt renounce the ſcriptures, or acknowledge that an evangeliſt is a more competent judge of a prophet's meaning than we can pretend to be.

After

After wading through thoſe difficulties, I ſhall not ſwell my page with all the paſſages quoted in your book, to prove Chriſt's humanity: I allow them all. But what are we to do with all the texts that prove his Divinity? "The Alpha "and Omega." "The beginning and end." "My Father and I are one." "The firſt and "the laſt." "A God manifeſted in fleſh: a "God mortified in fleſh." "God was the "Word." Supreme worſhip due to God alone: "Let all the angels of God adore him." Eternal generation: "This day I have begotten "thee." The expreſs appellation of a God, and his ſovereign dominion: "Unto the Son he "ſaith, Thy throne, O God, is for ever and "ever," &c. &c. &c.

To elude the texts that aſſert his Divinity, you take refuge in a vain diſtinction of two characters in which Chriſt appeared,—the one private, the other public: a man, in his private character; an ambaſſador or meſſenger of God, in his public miniſtry, by ſhewing his credentials, and aſſuming the title of God, in quality of an ambaſſador. I appeal to the judgment of the public, if this be not ſporting with words, and perverting the uſe of language.

gate to themſelves the title of kings? And in the moſt authentic ratifications of treaties, do not they ſign in their maſters names? Has any of them the preſumption to paſs for the ſon of his maſter? When Chriſt ſaid to his diſciples, "As my living Father has ſent me, ſo I ſend "you." When St. Paul ſaid, "We are Chriſt's "ambaſſadors," did either he or any of the apoſtles ſay, "I am Chriſt,—Chriſt and I are one. "Whatever Chriſt does, I do in like manner. I "am before Abraham. I am before all things?"

When, by way of alluſion, the title of God is given to any mortal in the ſcriptures, the limitations and reſtrictions, under which it is given, evidently preclude an indiſputable claim to ſuch an awful title. It is a gift beſtowed with a parſimonious hand. "I have made thee the God "of Pharaoh," ſays the Almighty to Moſes. This word, Pharaoh, limits and circumſcribes the power of the *deified* mortal, and evinces a precarious title. *I have ſaid ye are Gods*, but the addition of the following words, *ye ſhall die*, clears up the prophet's meaning. Beſides, this appellation is given by ſome others: no perſon aſſumes it himſelf. Chriſt declares, that he is the Son of God, the ſame with his Father. In his perſon, all the lineaments of the Divinity are united. Prophecies and oracles, predicting "that God himſelf will come to ſave us," are applied

applied to him. He declares himſelf to be the ſame: and St. Paul affirms, that he thought it no uſurpation to be equal to the Moſt High.

In vain, then, is it alleged, that Chriſt and his apoſtles applied theſe oracles and paſſages to the Son of God in a figurative manner, or, to uſe the term of the ſchools, *in an accommodate ſenſe.*

Lucifer himſelf, who attempted "to raiſe his "throne above the clouds, and make himſelf "like unto the Moſt High," could not have uſed a more impious and blaſphemous figure, than to uſurp the name and attributes of the ſovereign Being; to require the ſame homage, adoration, and love, that are due to the Divinity. "He that loves father and mother more than "me, is not worthy to be my diſciple." "Whoever loves his life more than me, is not "worthy to be my diſciple." Did mortal before ever uſe ſuch words.

All other figures and allegories are explained in ſome part of ſcripture, or wrapped up in myſterious clouds, to be diſpelled by the brightneſs of eternal day, after exerciſing our belief: but, with regard to the Divinity of Chriſt, if it be a figure, it is a metaphor continued through

[redacted]

ſenſe, repeated almoſt in every page of the New Teſtament, and ſealed with the blood of Chriſt, his apoſtles, and martyrs. When he appeared on earth to convert the Jews and Gentiles, and deſtroy idolatry, which blindfolded mankind, could he have taken more oppoſite ſteps to his miſſion, than to raiſe the dead, and change the courſe of nature, in proof of a doctrine inſinuating his Divinity, if he had no real claim to the title? At a time when the credulous multitude were apt to enrol extraordinary men in the number of their Gods,——when they worſhipped the earth that nouriſhed them,—the air that refreſhed them,—the ſun that enlightened them,—the moon that directed their ſteps, in the obſcurity of night,—the fire that warmed them,—the heroes that cleared the woods and foreſts of lions and ſerpents that annoyed them, —the conquerors who delivered them from their enemies,—the wiſe and generous princes who rendered their ſubjects happy, and the memory of their reign immortal——at a time when altars were erected at Athens, to the Unknown God,——when the prieſts of Salamis raiſed the ſacrific knife, to offer victims in honour of Paul, whom they took for Mercury, on account of his eloquence, and the novelty of his doctrine,—and in honour of Barnabas whom they revered as Jupiter, on account of his venerable aſpect,——and when the

the ſortileges of Simon, the magician, procured him the honour of a temple at Rome, and the appellation of the *Great God*,——at ſuch a critical period, when gratitude deified benefactors, and extraordinary powers laid the foundations of temples, and ſwelled the catalogue of falſe gods,——it was a dangerous and ill-timed doctrine, to preach that he was equal to God; that he was the Son of God; that eternal life conſiſted in the knowledge of himſelf and of his Father; to command his followers to lay down their lives ſooner than deny him, &c. and to confirm this doctrine by ſilencing the winds that ſubſided at his nod; by calming the ſtormy ſeas—changing the nature of the elements; reſtoring ſight to the blind,—the uſe of their limbs to the lame; forcing Death to ſurrender his ſpoils,—and all nature to acknowledge his power and empire. Shall a Paul and Barnabas tear their garments in being taken for ſomething more than mortal men; and ſhall Jeſus Chriſt, if he be not God, in a calm deliberate manner, rob the Creator of all things, of his glory and the worſhip due to him, in affirming that himſelf and the God of Heaven are *one*,—in applauding the faith of the apoſtle who ſaid that he was *the Son of the living God*,—and in not checking the diſciple who, after

It is not only in the time of his liberty, when he viſits the cities of Iſrael, healing their ſick, raiſing their dead, feeding multitudes with a few loaves, and refuſing the temporal ſovereignty which the people offered him, that he attributes to himſelf the prerogatives of the Divinity. It is in chains, in the courſe of his trial, and on the croſs. Conjured by the high prieſt to tell whether he is Chriſt the Son of God, he anſwers in the affirmative: and, in proof of his aſſertion, ſays that they ſhall ſee him on the right hand of God. "Do you hear the blaſphemy?" cries out the other. Had he uſed any mental reſervations on this occaſion, by ſaying one thing and meaning another,—by expreſſing outwardly, "I am the Son of God," and reſtraining in his mind the ſenſe of the words, to the quality of a meſſenger,—he would not have anſwered according to the pontiff's meaning, who knew but too well the difference between a meſſenger, ſuch as any prophet may be, and a Son, who muſt be of the ſame nature with his Father. What a precedent for perjurers! And what blaſphemy in St. Paul, who affirms, "that he thought it no uſurpation to "make himſelf equal unto God!"

Common ſenſe often ſupplies the room of metaphyſical demonſtrations. And common ſenſe will inform you, that Jeſus Chriſt is either the greateſt impoſtor that ever appeared, or that he

he is literally what he declared himſelf to be, *God and Man*, for whom the martyrs ſuffered, whom the Chriſtians adore, and to whom all knees are to bend one day.

If he is an impoſtor, in vain has the blood of impure victims been drained; in vain have the altars of falſe deities been overturned; in vain have their idols been cruſhed, and their temples deſtroyed: a new idol has been ſet up in their room, and the worſhip due to the Sovereign Being has been transferred to an impoſtor. If this be the caſe, God, then, muſt have deceived mortals, in inveſting an impoſtor, during his life, and his diſciples, after his death, with ſuch extraordinary powers; And the miracles wrought in confirmation of their doctrine, and which could never be wrought but by his expreſs and immediate power, muſt have been wrought with an expreſs deſign to miſlead his creatures into deluſion and error. Reconcile this, if you can, to his goodneſs, wiſdom, and providence; and behold the abſurdities to which incredulity leads.

If you intend to reconcile thoſe texts that attribute to the ſame perſon, an eternal generation and birth in time,—tranſcendent glory and profound humility,—the power and majeſty of

human nature.—Then, all ſeeming contradictions vaniſh. His infirmities and ſufferings are applicable to him, as Man; whilſt his glorious characters and titles are to be attributed to his Godhead, diſguiſed under a human veil. Thus, in Jeſus Chriſt we find the God that created us, whereas he is the ſame with his Father; the Redeemer who purchaſed us, by paying our ranſom; the ſpotleſs Pontiff, through whom we find acceſs to the throne of mercy. His croſs is folly to the Jew, and a ſcandal to the Gentile: but to the Chriſtian it is the power and wiſdom of God. For if he was not man, he could not ſuffer; and if he were not God, his ſufferings would not avail us. He becomes man, to ſuffer for our ſake: and, as God, he gives his ſufferings an infinite price.

I remain, &c.

LETTER IV.

SIR,

IN the preceding letters, we have touched upon the weakneſs and the neceſſity of reaſon, revealed religion; the obſcurity in which mortals were involved, and the incongruity of denying religious myſteries, when the book of nature, open to our eyes, is ſcarce legible; our fall in Adam, and our reſtoration in Chriſt.

It is now time to examine your opinion concerning the ſoul of man: an opinion which you deliver in the ſeventy-ſecond page of your work, in theſe words: "Hence, I conclude that "the ſoul dies with the body. It is an opinion "conformable to reaſon, obſervation, and to the "doctrine taught by Jeſus Chriſt and his apoſ-"tles." Whatever arguments you might have drawn from *obſervation*, you ſhould have paſſed over the authority of Chriſt and his apoſtles: an authority never adduced before in ſupport of a doctrine which in every page they condemn. Or at leaſt, you ſhould have firſt a Bible of your

Man muſt certainly be liable to error, when, in the blaze of revelation, and after the progreſs philoſophy has made in the world, he ſtill cries out, with the diſciple of Epicurus:

"We know not yet how our ſoul's produc'd,
"Whether by body born, or elſe infus'd:
"Whether in death, breath'd out into the air,
"She doth confus'dly mix and periſh there,
"Or through vaſt ſhades and horrid ſilence go
"To viſit brimſtone caves and pools below."*

Your obſervation muſt be quite different from the *obſervations* of the greateſt men the faculty of phyſic ever produced: men who were, and are ſtill, as great ornaments to the literary world, as they are uſeful to mankind.

We *obſerve*, ſir, within ourſelves, a principle that is obeyed as a ſovereign; that now finds fault with what it before approved; that covets with paſſion what it deſpiſes after enjoying; that now rejoices and then mourns; that reaſons and judges. I conſult my *reaſon:* and it informs me, that this principle, ſo noble, and, at the ſame time, ſo liable to ſuch conflicting agitations, cannot be a particle of matter, round or ſquare, red or blue; a volatilized vapour diſſolvable into air; a contexture of atoms interwoven or ſeparated by a ſportive brain.

* Creech's Lucretius, Book 1.

My *reaſon* informs me, that a being, capable to take in hands the government of a vaſt empire,—to form projects, the ſucceſs whereof depends on an infinity of different ſprings, whoſe motions and accords muſt be ſtudied and combined,—is ſomething more than a little ſubtilized mud.

I obſerve matter with all its mutations and refinements: and I perceive nothing but extenſion, diviſibility, figure, and motion.

My reaſon tells me, that the combinations of the different particles of matter, let their velocity be ever ſo great, can never reveal the ſacred myſteries of faith,—the holy rules of equity,—the ideas of piety, order, and juſtice.

Moreover, reaſon informs us, that matter is indifferent to motion or reſt, to this or that ſituation. When moved in any direction, the ſmalleſt particle of any body or maſs of matter, muſt yield to the motion of the whole. On the other hand, in our temptations and ſtruggles, amidſt the ſolicitations of ſenſe, and the cravings of appetite, we can ſay, with St. Paul, that we feel an interior conflict and two oppoſite laws in ourſelves: "the law of the body warring "againſt the law of the mind, and attempting "to captivate us to the law of ſin." Under the

part of ourſelves ſtill remains the directing principle, always aſſerting its rights, and conſtantly ſupporting its native title to dominion.

Reconcile, if you can, to the laws of mechaniſm,—to the coheſion of atoms,—and to the motions of particles of matter,—the infinite capacity of the ſoul, its ſtrong deſires after immortality,—its power to infer concluſions from principles, in mathematical demonſtrations and logical arguments,—its arbitrary and voluntary determinations,—this ſhifting and changing,—thoſe ſtrange and ſudden returns, reflections, and tranſitions in thought, which, by experience, we find it in our power to make,

We all agree, that matter touches in contact, and that whatever moves, is put in motion by another. We know, on the other hand, that, in reaſoning, argumentations, demonſtrations, &c. wherein we infer one thing from another, and another thing from that inference, and a third from thence, and ſo on, there is an infinity of different modes of thought. If thoſe different modes of thought be no more than the different ſtates of the ſolid, figured, diviſible parts of matter, with reſpect to velocity and direction, it is neceſſary that they ſhould have been put into theſe different ſtates, by the impulſe of ſome foreign mover.

If

If this mover, which is the cauſe of motion, be matter, it muſt be moved or acted on itſelf: for otherwiſe it could not produce a change of motion in other contiguous parts of matter. There muſt ſtill be a mover prior to the former, and another prior to that, and ſo on to infinity, in every act of reaſon and argumentation. But a progreſſion to infinity is diſcarded by all philoſophers, both ancient and modern.

To ſpin out the ſubject in metaphyſical arguments, were loſs of time. Suffice it to ſay, that we would contradict our *reaſon*, and belye our hearts, in ſuppoſing that the troubles, agitations, importunate remorſes, we feel after the commiſſion of ſome horrid crime,—the ſecret reproaches of a guilty conſcience, which made the Athenian paricide cry out, twenty years after having murdered his father, that the crows upbraided him with his death:—we would, I ſay, only belye our hearts, in ſuppoſing ſuch interior puniſhments, which tread in the heels of guilt, to be no more than an aſſemblage of little atoms, with hooked or rough ſurfaces. In ſuppoſing that patience and reſignation in our afflictions, from an expectation of immortality and the ſpiritual joys of future bliſs, the diſtant reward of our trials, are the reſult of ſmooth atoms gliding through the brain; or that the horrors

cauſe which produces a pain in the head, back, or ſtomach.

Further: Under the diſpenſation of a juſt and powerful God, crimes muſt be puniſhed, and virtue rewarded. What notion can we form of a God, who makes no diſtinction between the wretch who ſtrangles his father, in order to take poſſeſſion of his eſtate, and the juſt man who is diſpoſed to prefer death to iniquity, from an apprehenſion of offending his Maker?

Yet the world has ſeen the greateſt ſinners elated with proſperity,—arrayed with crimes, as with a raiment of glory,—ſwimming in an ocean of pleaſures, which the fountains of extortion and injuſtice ſupply,—ſtrangers to thoſe miſeries which, in this world, ſeem to be the inheritance of the righteous. How many illuſtrious culprits, whoſe power and credit ſilence the authority of the laws, whilſt the innocent victim is ſuſpended on the tree, upon the depoſition of a perjurer, or from the corruption of a judge! The world has ſeen a Herod on the throne, after murdering the innocents,—and a John the Baptiſt beheaded, in priſon, for exclaiming againſt inceſt,—a Nero ſwaying the ſceptre of the world, after ripping open his mother's womb,—and a Paul bound with chains, for preaching juſtice, judgment, and chaſtity.

Virtue,

Virtue, then, being oppreſſed in this life, and vice unpuniſhed,—the ſilence of a Juſt and All-powerful God,—points out a future ſtate, where juſtice is to reſume its rights, and reward each according to his works. And, if divine juſtice points out a future ſtate, the ſoul muſt ſurvive the body.

But you inform us that you believe in a future ſtate, though the ſoul is nothing but a motion of the cerebrum, which periſhes along with it: For, ſays the Doctor, "God will change our bodies "into ſpirits at the laſt day, when the world "will periſh for want of vegetable food, on ac- "count of the mould of the earth being waſhed "away into the ſea; ſo that nothing will re- "main but the bare rocks;" ſtill, he will not admit that the body will riſe; but that God will create a ſpirit in the room of every body that ever appeared. This extraordinary creed runs through the whole courſe of his work; and even in his defence he does not retract it.

It is, certainly, the fitteſt time to *change* our mouths and ſtomachs into ſpirits, when we will have nothing to eat: for, after the reſurrection, the hillocks will no longer ſmile with the beauty of the vine; the fields will no longer curl with ears of corn. Our bodies then are uſeleſs.

Beſides: In this *religious chemiſtry*, we meet with an ample compenſation: for, as we are nothing but bodies now, we will be all ſpirits hereafter: and the gentleman, who grants us neither ſoul here, nor body hereafter, grants us both by turns,—bodies, when we have enough to eat,—ſpirits when we have no food. Pray, ſir, between ſpirit and matter, is not there an infinite diſtance? Are not their properties ſo diſtinct, as mutually to exclude each other? God, then, muſt deſtroy the nature of the one, before he can change it into the other. A new creation muſt enſue: and one being muſt be ſubſtituted in the room of another. A ſpirit, then, thus created, and coming from the hands of God, *whoſe works are pure*, is it to ſuffer for the crimes of a Nero or a Caligula, committed thouſands of years before its exiſtence? If thoſe monſters of human nature, whoſe names ſtand for the moſt odious crimes, are to be puniſhed in a future ſtate, is any part of the body, in which they committed the moſt abominable actions, to be joined to this pretended ſpirit? If ſo, ſpirit and body can be united together. If no part of the body is to be joined to this ſpirit, then it is a ſpirit immediately created by the Almighty, and immediately puniſhed, without any previous ſin of its own. Reconcile this, if you can, to the juſtice of God, who rewards or puniſhes every one according to his works.

Let

Let you and I enjoy ourſelves, and be careleſs about what is to happen hereafter: for God will create ſome *ſpirit*, who will be chaſtiſed hereafter for the faults we now commit. To your reſurrection, then, may be applied what Tully ſaid of the creed of ſome philoſophers of his time: "Verbis ponunt, re tollunt Deos." You acknowledge it in words: you deny it in reality.

But the gentleman returns to the charge, and attacks the ſpirituality of the ſoul on three grounds: firſt, becauſe matter cannot be put in motion by a ſpirit: ſecondly, the ſoul follows the diſpoſition of the body; whereas, in ſleep, drunkenneſs, palſy, infancy, &c. it has not the exerciſe or uſe of reaſon: thirdly, he has recourſe to the infinite power of God, who can add thought to matter; and ſummons to his aſſiſtance, the brute creation, to which he attributes a ſoul of the ſame identical nature with the ſoul of man; though perhaps in an inferior degree of perfection; and concludes, that, as the ſoul of man and the ſoul of the brute are of the ſame nature, they both periſh alike. He is ſo confident of the truth of this doctrine, that he affirms "Solomon and ſir Iſaac Newton "to be no more than the production of what

men, whoſe cunning has firſt introduced this notion of immortality.

We ſhall not dwell long upon the nature of Solomon and ſir Iſaac's ſouls, which, certainly, muſt have been made of the moſt refined and *ſublimated* particles of matter. Old Scriblerus ſeems to have entertained the ſame opinion with the doctor *; for he would not permit his child Martinus's nurſe to eat any roaſt beef or heavy aliments, leſt his ſon ſhould become too *heavy* and *dull*. Hence, his choice of Attic and Roman diſhes, in order that their juices ſhould impregnate his ſon with the valour and elegance of the ancients.

The doctor would oblige us, if he informed the public, of the quality and quantity of food uſed by king David. We would ſoon have numbers of Solomons. Manifold would be the advantages accruing to ſociety, from ſuch a diſcovery. Inſtead of loſing moſt of our time in colleges, the outlines of the plan of education ſuitable to the clergyman, the ſtateſman, the lawyer, could be ſketched in the kitchen, and completed at table. The *beau* and *belle* ſhould feed on butterflies. Calves-feet jellies would qualify the courtier and petit maitre for making a flexible and graceful bow. I believe that the harſhneſs

* See Martinus Scriblerus. Chapter of nutrition.

harſhneſs and acrimony of religious diſputes, controverſial writings, and anniverſary ſermons, proceed from the great quantity of black pudding and muſtard, which our polemical divines eat at their breakfaſts. And if we knew the ſpoon-meat, with which the doctor was fed, we would know the olio requiſite to make a philoſopher who unravels the ſecrets of nature and religion.

But (to return to the objections), you ſay, "that matter cannot be put in motion by a "ſpirit." Who is it that eſtabliſhed the world by his wiſdom, and ſtretched out the Heavens by his underſtanding? A Spirit. Who hanged the earth upon nothing, and weighed the mountains in ſcales, and the hills in a balance? A Spirit. Who cloathed the face of the earth with flowers, and placed the ſand for the bounds of the ſea? A Spirit.

Matter, then, and the whole frame of nature, were put in motion by a ſpiritual agent; otherwiſe, they would never exiſt: for they could never have created themſelves. The ſame agent can unite a ſpiritual ſoul to a material ſubſtance, in order to impel, actuate, move, and diffuſe a vital influence through the dor-

"But does not the ſoul follow the diſpoſi-"tions of the body?" Moſt certainly. It is ignorant in children; ripens into maturity and judgment, in proportion to our advances to perfection; is in its full vigour, when we attain to our perfect growth; declines with age; and ſinks into a ſluggiſh torpor, when the body is encumbered with years, and worn with longevity. In an apoplexy, palſy, drunkenneſs, ſleep, &c. its powers are ſuſpended.

Such is the general rule: yet to this general rule there are many and extraordinary exceptions: people, encumbered with years, reaſoning, at the hour of their diſſolution, in the moſt ſublime and pathetic ſtrain: the ſoul's vigour increaſing in proportion as the body decayed: as the priſoner feels himſelf more light and active in proportion as his chains are taking off: children at the age of ſeven, demonſtrating Euclid's propoſitions without the help of a maſter, and with feeble conſtitutions compoſing books, and bearing away the palm of erudition, before they attained to the age of eleven.

In ſleep itſelf, when the ſenſes are locked, and the body is conſigned over, as it were, to the arms of death, in what active ſcenes doth not the ſoul appear? The ſtudent, who, when awake, could not leap two yards, nor compoſe his theme, is ſeen, in a profound ſleep, fly, like one

one of the feathered tribe, out at his window; climb, without aſſiſtance of rope or ladder, to the roof of a towering building; arrange, by the light of the moon, his figures of rhetoric; go through all the rules of amplification; deſcend with the ſame eaſe that he went up; lay his piece of eloquence on his deſk. In the morning, he knows his hand-writing; but cannot believe himſelf the author of ſuch an elaborate compoſition.

But, however difficult it may appear, that a ſpiritual and active ſubſtance ſhould be obſtructed in its operations, the difficulty vaniſhes, when we reflect, that the cloſeſt connexion ſubſiſts between ſoul and body; and that the Creator of all things has ordained their acting in concert, during our ſhort pilgrimage here on earth.

Ignorance in children, and ſtupidity in old people, ariſe from the inſertion of an active and ſpiritual ſubſtance, in matter not fitly diſpoſed, and yet ordained to be its organ and inſtrument. The brain is too moiſt in children, and too dry in old people: conſequently, unapt either for the reception or retention of the images tranſmitted from exterior objects: which images or repreſentations are the mate-

Letters cannot be formed with nice and delicate ſtrokes, if the pen be bad. It is neither the painter's nor writer's fault, if their ſkill does not ſhine in their reſpective performances. The defect originates in the unaptneſs of the materials. It is the ſame caſe with the ſoul. This ſpiritual and immortal ſubſtance, ſeated in the head, as a pilot at the helm, who, beſides his innate ſkill, wants the aſſiſtance of the ſails and rudder to ſteer the unwieldy veſſel,—or as a monarch in his palace, who has none but ſickly and diſordered ſubjects to command,—the ſoul, I ſay, ſtands in need of the organs of the body, as ſo many miniſters of ſenſation, towards the exertion of its faculties.

If I am confined to a chamber that has but one window, I cannot ſee through more than one. If there be more, I can ſee through all. The viſual faculty, in both caſes, is the ſame: and the difference conſiſts in the removal of the obſtacles. Thus, on the loſs of an eye or limb, the ſoul is neither blind nor lame; it is ſtill the ſame, though its inſtrumentality be partly deſtroyed. But if the brain, whoſe inexplicable folds and ſpacious palaces are the repoſitories of the various images coming in through their reſpective avenues from exterior objects, be diſordered and obſtructed by drunkenneſs, apoplexy, &c. the paſſages become impracticable;

ble; the canvas becomes wrinkled and uneven; the glowing colours cannot ſpread; the ſize and attitude of the figures are confounded; and all the requiſites of reaſoning are wanting. Let the drunken man ſleep, and the ſick man recover, then the obſtacles are removed; and reaſon will inform you, that the ſoul is ſtill the ſame.

If the ſoul, then, under the inconvenience of the foregoing circumſtances of drunkenneſs, fever, &c. ſtill retains a faculty or power of perceiving, reaſoning, and judging, to be exerted when theſe obſtacles are removed,—how much more capable will it not be of thoſe ſpiritual functions, after its ſeparation from the maſs of clay, when, diſentangled from its fetters, with its enlargement from the body, "it will return "to the God who gave it!"

But you inform us, that "God can do any "thing that does not imply a contradiction:" and that, "by an infinite power, he can add "thought to matter."

"But," ſir, "muſt not a man be very ſan-"guine" in the cauſe of ſcepticiſm, and eager to work himſelf into incredulity, when he has recourſe to infinite power, ſooner than admit a ſpiritual ſoul? If God can add thought to

the poſſibility of uniting ſpirit to body? Locke acknowledges the poſſibility of adding thought to matter, by the intervention of infinite power, to the great comfort of our modern free-thinkers; but ſtill he acknowledges his ſoul to be ſpiritual and immortal.

No unhappy comfort can then ariſe to thoſe whoſe greateſt joy would conſiſt in being a lump of animated earth, from Locke's opinion: for God can do ſeveral things which he will never perform. He never will animate a ſtone, or tree; and cover them with fleſh, ſuſceptible of paſſions, and willing to gratify them; give them the organs of ſpeech; and thus introduce on the ſtage of life, a ſet of dogmatizing philoſophers, who will glory in being the brothers of plants and muſhrooms: as Bias, the philoſopher, ſaid of the Athenians, who gloried in being originally ſprung from the earth.

Sound logic does not allow to argue from poſſibility to fact: and, though every reſpect is due to Locke's authority, yet his poſſibility of *thinking matter*, and others of his hypotheſes, are objected to, by the learned. Nor has he any room to complain, if the world does not pay him the ſame implicit obedience which the diſciples of Pythagoras paid their maſter: for ſeveral great mathematicians and metaphyſicians conſider, as

very poſſible, ſyſtems which Locke rejects, as contradictions.

We cannot account for the operations of the ſoul, upon the principles of mechaniſm. We know that the motions of parts, and the artful manner of combining them, can produce nothing but an artful ſtructure, and various modes of motion. Hence, all machines, however artfully their parts are put together, and however complicated their ſtructure, though we conceive innumerable different motions variouſly combined, and running into one another, with an endleſs variety, yet never produce any thing but figure and motion. Much leſs can we account for our mental operations, from the properties of matter. Lucretius and his followers may employ their plaſtic powers in forming a ſoul compoſed of particles of air, fire, vapour, and a fourth *ſomething* which that poet does not deſcribe.

They will acknowledge, that none of thoſe elementary particles, ſeparate from the reſt, can think; but that, from their mixture and colliſion, thought reſults which they attempt to prove by the example of the tree and the earth, neither of which produces fruit in a ſeparate ſtate. But it is obvious, that the tree contains in itſelf

developes: and, to give juſtneſs to the compariſon, by the ſame rule, either the fire or air ſhould contain in itſelf the origin of thought; which is an abſurdity.

If you admit that God can ſuperadd thought to matter, this thought, then, muſt be a quality ſuperior to matter, and, conſequently, diſtinct from it. Then the contradiction is palpable: for it will follow, that it is matter and not matter at the ſame time.

As to the brutes, become of late the ſubjects of philoſophical panegyric, that raiſes them to an equality with man, we like them for the ſervice or diverſion they afford us: but, *leſs virtuous than our philoſophers*, we have not humility to wiſh to be on a level with them. Pity our pride and ignorance, great oracles, who revile the Chriſtians, and extol the cunning of the fox, the imitative powers of the ape, the architecture of the beaver, and the provident foreſight of the ant!

Since you believe them of the ſame nature with yourſelves, why do not you arraign the cruelty of the magiſtrates, under whoſe eyes ſo many murders are daily committed on your brethren? For if man and the brute be of the ſame nature, why ſhould beaſts be killed with impunity, whilſt the aſſaſſin is doomed to the

gibbet? The queſtion may ſeem childiſh: yet your refined philoſophy is humbly requeſted to give a ſolid anſwer. Your catechiſm can illuſtrate the ſubject.

THE FREE-THINKER's CATECHISM:

FAITHFULLY COLLECTED FROM SOME OF THE MOST CELEBRATED FREE-THINKERS OF THIS AGE.

Queſtion. Who made man?

Anſwer. Nothing.

Q. How did he come into the world?

A. He ſprung out of the earth, ſpontaneouſly; as a muſhroom*.

Q. The ſouls of men and brutes, are they of the ſame nature?

A. Yes†.

Q. What difference, then, is there between man and the brute?

A. Man is a more multiplied animal, with hands and flexible fingers. The paws and feet

of other animals are covered, at the extremities, with a horny ſubſtance; or terminate in claws and talons*.

Q. Our ſuperiority over the brute creation, in arts, ſciences, modeſty, civilization, is, then, owing to our hands and fingers, not to any innate principle of reaſon?

A. Doubtleſs.

Q. But the apes, whoſe paws are much like ours, why have not they made the ſame progreſs?

A. Apes live on fruits: and being, like children, in perpetual motion, they are not ſuſceptible of that *ennui*, or weariſomeneſs, to which we are liable †.

Q. Is there any virtue in worſhipping God, in loving our father, in ſerving our country, in relieving the diſtreſſed?

A. No.

Q. In what light, then, are we to conſider virtue?

A. Cry out, with Brutus: "O vertu, tu n'es "qu'un

* Helvetius, livre de l'Eſprit, p. 233. † Ibid. p. 3.

" qu'un vain nom!" O virtue, thou art but an empty ſound!*

Lo, the refined ſyſtem introduced by thoſe great oracles of human wiſdom. If the cannibals, who eat their aged parents, ever learn to read, they will find their juſtification in your catechiſm.

Our philoſophers are the great panegyriſts of the inſtinct of animals, whilſt they degrade the reaſon of man. The reaſon is obvious. In pointing out the brutes as rivals qualified to contend for ſuperiority with us, they can argue with eaſe and ſatisfaction. " All dies with the brutes: all " dies with man. Let us, then, live as they do: " for our end will be the ſame." But ſtill this way of reaſoning, how flattering ſoever to ſenſuality, cannot remove the perplexing doubt: for if the brute's ſoul be of the ſame nature with that of man, then there is no certainty that the ſoul of the brute dies. For, laying aſide religion, which has decided the queſtion, " fear " not thoſe who can kill the body, but are not " able to kill the ſoul," there is no demonſtration that the ſoul of man dies, but every thing demonſtrates the reverſe. To argue, then, with

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the ſame nature with the ſoul of man: ſecondly, that the ſoul of man dies. Neither can be demonſtrated: and, conſequently, the aſſiſtance, which our *two-footed* philoſophers expect from this league and confederacy, into which they would fain enter with apes and *fourfooted* animals, for the deſtruction of our ſouls, is no more than a broken reed.

But you will aſk me, "In what this inſtinct "of the brutes, and the nature of their ſouls conſiſts?" I anſwer candidly, that I know not. Some philoſophers are of opinion, that the brutes are mere machines, moved by ſome exterior agent. Others allow them an inherent principle of life and induſtry. To the opinion of the latter I accede; and believe, that what we call *inſtinct*, is a certain ſagacity and inclination given them by the Creator for their preſervation and our uſe. But you, who know the nature of your own ſoul, which you affirm to be of the ſame nature with that of apes and foxes, can reſolve the queſtion.

Buffon, the French academician, acknowledges, that in the diſſection of ſome apes, he could not diſcover any difference between their organs and thoſe of the human ſpecies: yet the ſame Buffon, in ſpite of the ſimilarity of organs, admits, that the diſtance between man

man and the ape is infinite, on account of thought, reaſon, and conſciouſneſs, which proceed from a ſpiritual principle: and the royal pſalmiſt recommends to us, not to "reſemble the horſe and the mule that have no "underſtanding." Our ignorance of the nature of their *inſtinct*, *ſouls*, &c. does not imply an ignorance of the nature of our own. If, through the veil of a mortal body, we can know and love our Maker, why ſhould we ceaſe to know him, when the maſk falls, and the veil is removed? If we admit no annihilation in nature, —and that matter, in ſpite of its changes, never periſhes,—why ſhould we refuſe the ſoul the ſame privilege? If brutes could reaſon, judge, abſtract, divide, compare the rules of order, juſtice, good and evil, as rational beings do, they would not anſwer the end of nature; and what has been made for the uſe of man, would become his deſtruction.

By dint of blows and other means, we can train up a horſe to point out the hour on a dial; a bear to dance; a monkey to ſupply the place of a poſtillion; a dog to move a minuet. Several inſtances of the ſagacity of animals are adduced by Plutarch and others. But, whatever variety of turns and motions they may acquire

to attribute it: for, however quick their hearing,—how ſagacious ſoever their inſtinct,—it would be vain to attempt inſtructing them in the beauty of order,—the rules of juſtice,—the rights of ſociety,—the origin of the world,—the love of their Maker,—the terrors of the laſt judgment,—the pains of hell,—the ineffable joys of a future ſtate. Whoever doubts me, let him try the experiment.

It is not ſo with the ſavage or child. They are capable of inſtruction in all thoſe points; and ſuſceptible of the impreſſions ariſing from the notions of moral good or moral evil.

Hence, neither from the ſagacity of brutes,—nor the experience of mankind,—nor the *obſervations of philoſophers*,—can arguments be adduced in ſupport of a doctrine tending to overthrow the ſpirituality and immortality of the ſoul. And, when you attribute the doctrine of the ſoul's immortality to the ſubtilty of ſchoolmen,—and when Helvetius fixes its firſt introduction in Nero's time, when the goſpel was preached at Rome *,—we cannot arraign either you or him for ignorance, as both are well read: but we charge you with wilful impoſition, which is worſe.

Scattered ſparks of the ſoul's immortality are to be found in the old Teſtament. Reſurrection,

* Helvetius, livre de l'Eſprit.

tion, judgment, the rewards and punishments of a future life, are mentioned by the inspired writers, long before the introduction of the gospel, or Hesiod's theogony. Pythagoras taught the metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls, long before Seneca taught Nero to declaim. Even ancient errors shew how ancient was the belief of the soul's immortality; and demonstrate, that it is to be ranked amongst the first traditions of mankind. Did not almost all men sacrifice to the *manes*, that is, to the souls, of the dead? From one extremity of the world to the other, people of different humours, countries, worship, interest, agree in this important article of immortality. It is no collusion: for a general association of mankind could never be formed. Nor a prejudice of education: for manners, customs, and education, are different, in different nations. This notion of immortality is common to all. Remote isles and foreign nations figured to themselves, shades and climates, through which the roving spirit was to travel, after its separation from the body. Hence, the custom of killing wives and officers, at the death of their kings; lest the royal ghost should travel without attendants. This several nations practiced: and the Indians, distinguished

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earth, which they practiſe to this very day. Nature, then, taught the ſoul's immortality, without a monitor: or rather, the Almighty has ſtamped its notion on our exiſtence: and ſavage people, in forgetting God, could not forget themſelves.

There are ſtill ſome religious, as well as philoſophical paradoxes in your writings, beſides the capital errors already mentioned. I have not leiſure to examine them all.

You ſay, that, from the continual waſte of "mould, waſhed away by the rain, the animal "world will become extinct, for want of vege-"table food." This, I ſuppoſe, is advanced with a deſign to invalidate the oracles which foretel the world's diſſolution by fire. A prodigious quantity of the liquid element is waſted in watering fields, woods, &c. Doctor Halley is of opinion, that the Mediterranean loſes in vapour, five thouſand five hundred and eighty millions of tons, in a day; and receives but one thouſand eight hundred and twenty-ſeven, from rivers: ſo that it would ſoon be drained, unleſs a great quantity returned in dew and rain upon it.

It ſeems, then, to me, that *the animal world will be extinct, for want of drink.* But a greater prophet than either of us, foretold the world's diſſolution by fervent heat.

You

You argue againſt the *Chineſe antiquities, from the waſte of mould.* By the ſame rule, you can argue againſt Moſes' account of the creation. But, to argue againſt the antiquities of any nation, from the *waſte of mould*, is nothing better than *waſte* of time. The European miſſionaries convinced the Chineſe of their error, by reckoning the eclipſes of the ſun, in a conference with their learned men, when the emperor of Tartary became maſter of China. It was the ſureſt method, and that by which Calliſthenes baffled the pretended antiquity of the Babylonians, when Alexander took their city.

If Moſes be an allegorical writer, it is hard, "from the waſte of mould," to determine when the Alps emerged from the chaos.

You are of opinion, that, before the deluge, "none but giants inhabited the earth." Before the deluge, the world had its *Davids* and *Goliahs*, its *Fionnmacools* and *Uſhions*. Moſes talks of giants, as rarities: "In them days, there "were giants on the earth." A rarity is an exception to the general rule, and ſuppoſes a more extenſive claſs of beings.

The longevity of the antediluvians can be aſcribed to two cauſes: the one ſupernatural,—in order to perpetuate religion, and give the

of their ſpreading generations: the other natural, viz. their ſobriety, the ſimplicity of their diet, the ſalubrity of the air, not corrupted by the noxious vapours which roſe from the earth, after the flood, the fertility of the ſoil, &c. You know the ſtate of the world, before the deluge, ſo well, that you fix "the age of puberty at the age of ſixty-five." I believe that procreation began, before the deluge, as early as at preſent. Or elſe, they muſt have been monſtrous babes that were at the breaſt, and fed with ſpoon-meat, at the age of twenty. By the rules of analogy, we may judge of their nubile ſtate, by the tall Pruſſian, and low Laplander. The ſize is diſproportionate: but the age for marrying is the ſame in both.

You deny any confuſion of tongues at the diſperſion: becauſe what has been tranſlated *language*, ſignifies *lip*, in Hebrew. Sometimes it does: but the addition of *ſpeech* ſignifies ſomething more. "And the whole earth was "of one language, and of one ſpeech."* And what is here tranſlated *ſpeech*, ſignifies *words*, in the original Hebrew.

You deny that there were *any propitiatory ſacrifices*. There are ſin-offerings, notwithſtanding, mentioned in the ſcriptures: "For the "bodies of thoſe beaſts, whoſe blood for ſin is "brought

* Geneſis, chap. ii.

"brought into the ſanctuary, by the high "prieſt, are burnt without the camp." In proof of your opinion, you mention "Pytha- "goras's hecatomb for being able to prove the "properties of a right-angled triangle: Jeph- "tah's offering up his daughter: Baal's prieſts "cutting themſelves with knives," to propitiate their god: and, to crown all, you aſſert, that the God of Iſrael changed ſides, when the king of Moab ſacrificed his ſon on the walls of his city *.

But, ſir, were not ſacrifices inſtituted by the Almighty God? Why ſhould his holy rites and ceremonies be ſet on a level with heathen profanations, Baal's prieſts, and Pythagoras's idols? A ſacrifice is the oblation of a ſenſible thing, by a lawful miniſter, in honour of the Divinity, in acknowledgment of his ſupreme power over life and death. Not only human victims were interdicted by the law, but even ſeveral animals; ſuch as aſſes, hares, &c. Hence, Jephtah's ſacrifice, if he killed his daughter, was a cruel murder: he was no fit prieſt: his daughter was no fit victim: and God cannot be honoured by a breach of his own law.

I ſay, "*If* he killed his daughter:" becauſe, in the original Hebrew, it may as well ſignify,

voted her to perpetual chaſtity: as ſeveral modern critics explain it, and as it ſeems to be the caſe. For, inſpired as he was, it is not to be preſumed that he was guilty of ſuch a fatal miſtake: and St. Paul reckons him amongſt the worthies, who, by faith, obtained the promiſed reward.

How, then, could the God of Iſrael "change "ſides," by reliſhing the profane vapours of idolatrous blood, ſmoaking, not in his honour, but in honour of the idols of the Moabites? The text you quote, "And there was great "indignation againſt Iſrael," proves no more, than that the confederate kings were angry with themſelves for having forced the unhappy father to plunge, as it were, the dagger in his own bowels, in the perſon of his ſon.

When, to deny propitiatory ſacrifices, you ſay, that "God cannot be bribed or flattered," I agree with you. But, ſure, you would not controul his power, nor conteſt his authority, to impoſe laws and obligations on his creatures; to annex to the obſervance and infraction of thoſe laws, rewards and puniſhments; to require their ſubmiſſion by viſible ſymbols; in the victim ſtretched and bound on the altar, to remind them of the chains of ſin, and of their ſtate under their Creator's hand, who, each inſtant,

ſtant, can deprive them of their lives; in the ſable ſmoak rolling from the blazing holocauſt, to make them perceive a ray of hope, directing their eyes to a diſtant victim, the effuſion of whoſe blood was to quench, one day, more active flames, and to change this ſcene of carnage and miſery, into means of expiation; not indeed by the virtue and efficacy of the ſacrifices in themſelves, but inaſmuch as they typified the immolation of "the Lamb that is ſlain "from the foundations of the world," in the obſervance of whoſe law, and in the love and knowledge of whoſe perſon, conſiſts eternal life. Age, a variety of accidents, and the uncertainty of death, preſs our return to a merciful Redeemer. It is too late to diſpute with Jeſus Chriſt his Divinity,—or with the ſoul its immortality,—when the ſpirit is arraigned at the awful tribunal of the Judge of the living and the dead.

I have the honour to be

Your affectionate ſervant,

LOYALTY ASSERTED:

OR, THE NEW

TEST OATH VINDICATED,

And proved by the PRINCIPLES of the

CANON AND CIVIL LAWS;

And the AUTHORITY of the

MOST EMINENT WRITERS.

With an ENQUIRY into the

POPE's DESPOSING POWER,

AND THE

GROUNDLESS CLAIMS OF THE STUARTS.

In a Letter to a Proteſtant Gentleman.

" Duo ſunt, Imperator Auguſte, auctoritas ſacra
" Pontificum, et regalis poteſtas."

Gelaſius, in epiſt. ad Anaſtaſium.

LOYALTY ASSERTED:

OR THE NEW

TEST OATH VINDICATED.

SIR,

NOTWITHSTANDING news-paper declamations, and the heavy charges brought againſt Popery, you are candid enough to tell me, that "you do not look on my profeſſion as "an imputation ſo dangerous that it entirely "deſtroys all correſpondence." You are not miſtaken in your conjectures. However we may differ in belief, you have nothing to apprehend; as ſpeculative tenets do not interfere with the duties of civil life, and that my practical doctrine tends more to improve, than corrupt the heart.

We have been ſchool-fellows, and well united. We have met in foreign kingdoms, and the

remembrance of an early acquaintance has cemented our friendſhip anew. We are reſtored once more to our native iſle, floating in an ocean of politics, and exhibiting as great a variety of religions, opinions, and ſentiments, as you have ſeen curioſities at the fair of St. Ovid's in Paris.

What party ſhall we ſide? What plan ſhall we purſue? If we treat as enemies all thoſe whoſe perſuaſion is different from ours, the number of our friends will be but ſmall. Let us then be retainers to dean Swift's doctrine. Let the Chriſtians agree in the points allowed on all ſides, as much as they differ with regard to private opinions, and diſſenſions ſhall be ſoon at an end. They all agree, that the firſt of their laws, is a law of eternal love, expanding into ſentiments of benevolence, and teaching its votaries to return affection for hatred, and good for evil; that it is a divine legacy bequeathed by their common Redeemer to his followers; and that Chriſtians, cemented together by the blood of a God, ſhould be never divided.

This is a point of doctrine liable to no controverſy. Oh! could it be enforced on the mind! factions would ſoon expire, and Charity aſcend the throne, holding broils, diſſenſions

ſlanders, calumnies at her feet, as ſo many captives in chains.

'Toleration in a popiſh prieſt!' If by toleration is meant indifference as to religion, God forbid! In this ſenſe it implies an error; and though it makes a great figure in the diſputes among divines, yet in two words we can aſcertain its degrees and meaſures. *Let us never tolerate error in ourſelves: let us pity it in our neighbours.* "Deteſt the error," ſays St. Auguſtin, "but love the man." For in the conflict of different opinions that will divide the world to the end of time, Chriſtian Charity ſtill aſſerts her prerogatives. Her oily balſam heals the rankling ulcer cauſed by a *religious inflammation*, and attenuates the black and viſcous humours which ſo often degenerate into an *evangelical ſpleen*.

But, if by toleration we mean impunity, ſafety, and protection granted by the ſtate, to every ſect that does not maintain doctrines inconſiſtent with the public peace, the rights of ſovereigns, and the ſafety of our neighbour, to ſuch a toleration I give my patronacy; and expect that the following proofs of the articles of the teſt, will evince the juſtneſs of entitling the Roman Catholics to the lenity of government, and the confidence of their fellow-ſubjects.

THE

THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE.

ART. I.

"I, A. B. do take Almighty God to witneſs,
"that I will be faithful and bear true allegi-
"ance to our moſt gracious Sovereign Lord,
"King George the Third, and him will de-
"fend to the utmoſt of my power, againſt
"all conſpiracies and attempts, whatever,
"that ſhall be made againſt his perſon, crown
"and dignity."

Although I ſhould never ſwear any allegiance in form, yet there is an original and natural allegiance from ſubject to king; a debt that forbids all conſpiracies and treaſonable practices 'againſt his perſon, crown and dignity.' At my birth I was under his protection; and in a tender infancy, when I could not protect myſelf, I was ſhielded by his name. His tribunals are ſtill open to ſecure my life and liberty; and as there is an implied contract between king and ſubject, my oath does not change the nature of my obligations. It only ſtrengthens the civil

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This obligation is corroborated by the poſitive injunctions of the ſcripture, enforcing obedience to the prince whoſe image is ſtamped on his coin, and grounded on the laws of the nation, which, from the earlieſt periods, have transferred the ſubject's allegiance to the king, for the time being, and declared it high treaſon in a ſubject to attempt any thing even againſt an uſurper, while he is in full poſſeſſion of the ſovereignty. This the laws have wiſely ordained, in order to prevent anarchy and confuſion; becauſe the common people cannot judge of the king's title. But here I thruſt my ſickle into the civilian's field, though in the end, oaths of allegiance ſhould be determined by the laws and maxims of the realm, as well as by principles of divinity*. Further, let it be remarked, that the foundation of this deciſion has been laid in Catholic times; and that in applying it to the actual circumſtances, I do not mean to diſtinguiſh between the right and fact in our moſt gracious ſovereign. I only argue *a minori ad majus*, to ſhew the guilt of attempting any thing againſt a lawful ſovereign, whereas it is high treaſon to conſpire againſt an uſurper.

The famous diſtinction between "rex de "jure," and "rex de facto," how intereſting ſoever in the times of the contending families of

* Vide Blackſtone's Commentaries, book I. chap. 10. Coke, 3 Inſt. 7. Kel. rep. 15.

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of York and Lancaſter, James II. and William III. is now of as much importance, as this great queſtion ſo warmly debated among our grave moraliſts: "Who is happier, a king awake, "or a cobler aſleep, who dreams that he is a "king?" I do not chooſe to diſturb the reſt of *ſleeping monarchs*, and whoever has a reliſh for *dreams*, has my conſent, though I like more ſolid food.

ART. II.

"AND I do faithfully promiſe to maintain, "ſupport, and defend, to the utmoſt of my "power, the ſucceſſion of the throne, in his "Majeſty's family, againſt any perſon or "perſons whatſoever."

Any thing that does not claſh with the laws of God,—whatever is conducive to the public good, and has for its immediate object, the peace of ſociety, and avoidance of bloodſhed, civil wars, and public calamities,—can be ſafely ſworn to, and the object of a lawful oath; but ſuch is the nature of the ſecond article of the teſt, which, according to the wiſe laws of a nation wherein the crown is hereditary in the wearer, equally guards againſt revolutions ſo

ceſſor; and, as others may think themſelves injured by ſuch a partial preference, the throne is as tottering as the ſucceſſion is arbitrary. Witneſs the hiſtory of the oriental nations.

In elective kingdoms, corruption, violence, and bribery precede the coronation: bloodſhed and miſery are the conſequences. Poland is no more, becauſe there have been many candidates, but no heir to the throne. Her *liberum veto*, or charter of unbounded liberty to oppoſe the king, has aided Pruſſia and Auſtria in riveting her chains. Here we know our king from his cradle. The object of our homage depends not on the caprice of a father, nor on the ambition of the nobles. It is determined by the law. As our king never dies, we are expoſed to no revolutions by the choice of a ſucceſſor. "The "order of ſucceſſion is, in monarchies, founded "on the welfare of the ſtate: it is not fixed for "the reigning family; but becauſe it is the in"tereſt of the ſtate, that it ſhould have a reign"ing family."*

ART.

* Monteſquieu, Eſprit des Loix, vol. II. page 194.

ART. III.

"HEREBY utterly abjuring any allegiance "or obedience unto the perſon taking upon "himſelf the ſtyle and title of Prince of "Wales in the life-time of his father, and "who, ſince his death, is ſaid to have aſ- "ſumed the ſtyle and title of King of Great "Britain and Ireland, by the name of Charles "the third, and to any other perſon claiming "or pretending a right to the crown of theſe "realms."

The proofs of this article may be ſeen in the explanation of the firſt. "It is impoſſible to "ſerve two maſters." Allegiance is due to the reigning ſovereign, and from the earlieſt times, to him alone. In whoſe name is juſtice adminiſtered? "In the name of George the third." In whoſe name are we protected from the midnight robber? "In the name of George the "third," &c. &c.

Now, ſir, I muſt entreat your patience. You know, that in all parliamentary debates on the oppreſſive operation of the penal laws, the Stuarts are the greateſt obſtacle in the Catholics way to a legal indulgence. They are con-

the polar ſtar by which we expect to ſteer one day into a haven of ſafety and deliverance; whilſt we ourſelves look on them as planets of a malific influence.

" Aut Sirius ardor,
" Ille ſitim morboſque ferens mortalibus ægris,
" Naſcitur, et lævo contriſtat lumine Cœlum."
VIRGIL.

To ſtate the caſe, and diſabuſe gentlemen, amiable and humane in all other reſpects, but, unluckily for our intereſt, too ſuſpicious of a foreign attachment, which we abſolutely diſclaim, let us view the Stuarts in three reſpects: firſt, With regard to the obligations they have conferred on us: 2dly, With regard to what we expect from them: 3dly, With regard to their claims to the crown of England, in quality of deſcendants of its ancient and rightful kings. If there be no incentive to gratitude on our part,—no right to our allegiance on theirs,—the bonds of attachment are diſſolved, and the great panegyriſts of our love for the Stuart line, reduced to the alternative of adopting the unreaſonable whim of the poet:

" Amo te, Zabede, ſed neſcio dicere quare."
" I love you, Charles, but I know not why."

or perſuading themſelves, that love is kindled by

by the flames of tyranny and oppreſſion. The firſt is abſurd; the ſecond unnatural.

Firſt, As to our obligations to this inauſpicious family, Hiſtory can inform you, that James the firſt ſignalized his generoſity in our favour, by giving, under the fineſſe of laws, ſix counties in Ulſter to Scotch planters. Hume attempts to juſtify his countryman by the following ſhift: "He gave them arts and manufac-"tures in exchange." The cruel Ahab was more generous: he offered real money for Naboth's vineyard. Grateful ſouls! bleſs your benefactor; he improved your minds at the expence of your bodies; and, like your preachers in Lent, *famiſhed your fleſh to fatten your ſpirit*.

Charles the firſt ran the ſame courſe with his father. No end of ſeizures, inquiſitions, and regal plunder. Shamed at laſt into deſiſtance by the Iriſh parliament, an artful ſtratagem is deviſed, equally calculated to anſwer the ends of rapacity, and exculpate the monarch.

The Earl of Strafford is named vicegerent and takes the blame upon himſelf: the king thanks him for his ſeaſonable advice; and Ireland ſees Tiberius and Sejanus reviued in the

two reigns purſuits were not extended to goods and chattels alone. The ſword of tyranny reached to conſcience itſelf. Spiritual ſupremacy, and religious uniformity, were inforced with ſuch rigour, that according to Borlaſe, ſome of the clergy *uſed to hang themſelves.* A ſarcaſtic remark! the falſity whereof, was more owing to their conſtancy, than to the lenity of the Stuarts. Charles the Second, who according to lord Lyttelton, could have become as deſpotic a prince as any in Europe, ſets up a ſham court of claims to ſave the appearance of juſtice. He confirms Cromwell's grants to the adventurers, who followed the banners of that regicide, tinctured with the blood of the royal martyr, obliges his enemies by the ſacrifice of his defenders, conſents to the ſpecial exception of Iriſh Catholics from the general act of indemnity, refuſes the leaſt aſſiſtance to Lord R———, who ſold his eſtate to ſupport him during his exile, and gives his ſanction to a ridiculous law, declaring it high treaſon to call the king a Papiſt. Of all the tranſgreſſors of this law, he himſelf was the moſt ſignal, whereas he was confeſſed and anointed by a Benedictine monk: *and the magiſtrates muſt have been very remiſs that did not hang him for contravening ſuch an important decree, prohibiting to ſuſpect for religion, a king who practiſed none.*

" Nec

"Nec lex æquior ulla eſt,
"Quam necis artifices arte perire ſua."
OVID.

However, the Iriſh Catholics can never ſufficiently thank him, for not puniſhing with halter, gibbet, and exenteration, a *requieſcat in pace*.

To this long train of Stuart hoſtilities James the Second is the only exception. As Diſſenters and Roman Catholics were equally diſqualified, he removed all penal reſtraints. Religion influenced him, doubtleſs. But did not his favours and indulgence, extend to Scotch Diſſenters, as well as to Iriſh Catholics? Did not the good of the ſtate, ſtrengthened by the affections and power of its ſubjects, ever and always weakened by their tepidity and indigence, require then, as it does now, a relaxation of oppreſſive laws? And was it not the king's intereſt to endeavour to render all his ſubjects proſperous and happy? Did he but proceed on a legal plan with the conſent of his parliament, without arrogating to himſelf a diſpenſing power, which the nation veſts in the aggregate body of king, lords, and commons? But can the conduct of James the Second ſtand the teſt? Or muſt not an Iriſhman be blind in

Ambition, or love for their ſubjects, induces kings to exchange the gaieties of a palace for the fatigues of the field, and to fly into the arms of death, from the boſom of ſenſuality and voluptuouſneſs. But more eſpecially in thoſe critical junctures, when the crown is at ſtake, and the majeſty of the monarch on the point of ſinking into the ſubject, the ſprings of nature play with an extraordinary elaſticity; the radiancy of the throne, gliſtening in the monarch's eyes, abſorbs and eclipſes the perception of danger: pride ſupplies the place of valour, and deſpair metamorphoſes the coward into the hero.

In the vicinity of an army of thirty thouſand men, maſter of the ſtrong holds and garriſons of his realms, at the firſt report of the Prince of Orange's arrival in England, James the Second, with the apathy of a Stoic, or the timidity of an old woman, throws the royal ſeals into the Thames, diſappears, leaves three kingdoms in the utmoſt anarchy and confuſion, the reigns of government without a hand to manage them, and his ſubjects uncertain to whom they are to transfer their allegiance.

Inſtances of the kind are ſcarce to be met with in the *chronicles of kings*; a hand that would not unſheath a ſword in defence of three realms

is

is better calculated for a muff than a ſceptre. Queen Elizabeth almoſt in ſight of an army of fifty thouſand Spaniards, reviews her troops, rides through the ranks, animates, incites, encourages her men: "Behold your queen! Victorious, I ſhall reward you: defeated, I will "die with you." But Buchanan's contraſt of James the Firſt to queen Elizabeth, is applicable to James the Second.

Rex fuit Elizabeth, nunc vero regina Jacobus.
Error naturæ par in utroque fuit.

In English: "Nature was miſtaken in thoſe "two extraordinary productions: Elizabeth "was a man: James a woman."

Recalled by Tyrconnel from France to Ireland, our Alexander lays ſiege to Londonderry, from whence he is repelled by a Proteſtant miniſter, at the head of a handful of men half famiſhed. This was a glorious conteſt between a king and a prieſt: the ſword and the gown. Cedant arma togæ.

The banks of the Boyne are quite as inauſpicious to his *laurels*. Here, contrary to the advice of his officers, he compels them to encounter a formidable army of fifty thouſand vete-

that age. Remark his orders and diſpoſitions. With a ſelect party of his army he places himſelf on Dunmore hill, out of cannon reach; and gives a ſtrict charge to Sarsfield, (lord Lucan) not to fire at his *ſon*, who was come ſword in hand to deprive him of his crown. A boding omen of future victory! In battle, let a general ride up and down to animate his troops, never fire into his quarters: you will gain the field. Seeing the Iriſh, though diſpirited by his partial commands, and unanimated by his example, repel the enemy, and keep the battle in ſuſpence, he cries out "Spare my "Engliſh ſubjects, ſpare my Engliſh ſubjects." Lo, the moſt beloved king of the Stuart race! Pious, and tender-hearted, he would not have ſcrupled to repoſſeſs himſelf of the throne at the expence of Iriſh blood, but the purchaſe would have been too dear, when acquired with the loſs of Engliſh ſubjects.

His daughter, queen Mary, during her huſband's abſence, ordered *all Papiſts and reputed Papiſts*, to depart ten miles from London. Her reign would have ſwelled the code of penal laws, and expanded the ten miles into a wider circuit, had not king William controuled the ſpirit of oppreſſion, ſo co-natural to the Stuarts. Expoſed to the power of Lewis the fourteenth, ready to back the claims of an abdi-

cated king, ſtill graſping at the remains of expiring royalty, William the third never deprived the Catholics of their property. He even allowed the moſt part of the Catholic gentry, the uſe of ſuch arms as were neceſſary for their defence and diverſion: a ſword and a gun. Their total deſtruction was completed by the laſt ſovereign of the Stuart line.

Queen Anne, by reducing the leaſes to 31 years, and introducing the bills of diſcovery, threw the nation into a convulſion, from whence it can never recover, until more lenient hands ſlacken the ſtiff chain of penal reſtraints. Under the happieſt of conſtitutions, ſhe has made Ottoman ſlaves, and impreſſed one of her kingdoms with the traces of Turkiſh miſery.

"Under this ſort of government," ſays Monteſquieu, ſpeaking of the Ottoman empire, "nothing is repaired or improved. Houſes are "built only for the neceſſity of habitation: "every thing is drawn from, but nothing re"ſtored to, the earth: the ground lies untilled, "and the whole country becomes a deſert." Whoever travels over the moſt part of Ireland, can ſee the deſcription realized. One of her

"teſtant, his father ſhall be tenant for life," is the horror of Chriſtendom, and an indelible ſtain on her memory. "Laws written in cha-"racters of blood," ſays an illuſtrious member, in his ſpeech on the Popery bills. This law effectually diſſolves the ties of nature, *reverſes* filial duty, and ſubjects a tender and aged father to the empire of a profligate ſon, who for the ſake of pleaſure and diſſolution, would ſubſcribe the Alcoran in Conſtantinople, as ſoon as he would the thirty-nine articles in Dublin, and ſay with the Count of Bonneval, "In turning Turk I have only exchanged my "hat for a turban." It is true, that her victorious generals have *graced* the annals of the queen; but in the eyes of a Chriſtian, her inclemency and ductility, ſhall for ever *diſgrace* the hiſtory of the Stuarts.

Hitherto we have taken a retroſpective view of our obligations to thoſe our royal *benefactors:* let us now look forward to the agreeable ſcene, and enchanting proſpect of riches and bleſſings, we expect from their reſtoration.

In reality, ſir, a dear bought experience has broke this charm that bewitched our anceſtors in favour of the Stuarts. Whilſt they were our kings, we exerted ourſelves to ſupport them on the throne, more from principle than

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faction, and had other monarchs ſwayed the ſceptre, we would have done the ſame. In a word, we fell with our kings, and the very offspring of thoſe kings have chained us cloſer to the ground. Now the tide of thoſe fatal commotions has ſubſided. This tumult that diſtracted the nation in the Stuarts reign is allayed. Are we to quit the reality in purſuit of a ſhadow? What would we have gained, had the Pretender been crowned at Weſtminſter? An aggravation of our yoke, and new calamities? The penal laws relaxed in their execution by the clemency of government, would have been revived with new vigour. The edge of perſecution, blunted by the very humanity of our fellow ſubjects, would have been new tempered, and ſharpened.

You will anſwer, perhaps, that ſuch uſage could not be expected from a *Catholic prince*. Folly! pardon the expreſſion. You know that the throne is the moſt dazzling object of human ambition. Tho' a great diſtance from its ſteps, and the impoſſibility of obtaining it renders the moſt part of mortals inſenſible to its charms, yet in regard to thoſe who are entitled to it by their birth, it is a magnet that attracts their hearts, the great idol to which they would ſa-

erazing by its oblivious qualities all impreſſions of friendſhip, gratitude, and even religion. Of this, hiſtory, both ſacred and profane, affords ſeveral inſtances. Athalia murdered the princes of the royal houſe of Judah. Tullia drove her chariot over her father's body, and dyed its wheels in his blood, from an eagerneſs to be ſaluted queen. In the time of the cruſades, a Catholic prince was found in the number of the ſlain, with the marks of circumciſion on his body. He expected the kingdom of Jeruſalem from Saladin; and this *fervent* Chriſtian, who a few years before would have ſpilt his blood in defence of Chriſt's ſepulchre, ſold Chriſt himſelf, for the dominion of a city in which he had been crucified.

I do not mean, ſir, that any of our regal candidates would turn Turks for the ſake of a crown. But certain I am, that the tranſition is eaſy from Popery to Proteſtantiſm, and from Proteſtantiſm to Popery, when a diadem is the reward of converſion. In my humble opinion, Charles the Third, would have removed Pope and Popery out of his way to the throne. To clear himſelf from the ſuſpicion of a Popiſh cancer, the oppreſſion of Papiſts would have been the beſt deterſive. A Catholicon very familiar to the Stuarts!

Perhaps

Perhaps I paſs a raſh judgment on this cheriſhed twig of the Stuart ſtock: If ſo, I retract. But all we expect from him is the liberty to *faſt and pray*; this we enjoy without his mediation, and it would be madneſs to forfeit.

Incapable and unwilling to hurt the public, willing and incapable to ſerve it; equally deſtitute of property and arms to defend it, our duty is confined to paſſive loyalty, inforced by religion. Let intereſt and the liberty of purchaſing ſtep in as an active principle, you will not find one Catholic in the kingdom but will be as ſanguine as yourſelf in defence of his ſubſtance, and the common cauſe, againſt Pope or Pretender. We daily ſee two brothers fight with the animoſity of open enemies, for a legacy or a ſpot of ground. We read of Popes, who in defence of their territories have entered into leagues with Proteſtant princes, againſt Catholic powers. Property then is ſo interwoven with ſelf-preſervation, that few or none will run the hazard of loſing it in compliment to another, were he even a ſaint; and of all mortals the Stuarts are the leaſt entitled to the ſacrifice of our acknowledgment.

Yet, as the frowardneſs of ſuperiors does not

point more remains to be diſcuſſed, viz. Whether we can in conſcience *renounce all allegiance unto* the grandſon of James the Second, whoſe abdication of the throne has been the effect of *fear and compulſion?* Has not the ſon *a right* to the eſtate of which his father has been deprived by force? And in oppoſing this *right* do I not commit a flagrant injuſtice?

This important queſtion is to be ſolved by the fundamental laws of the realm, general principles, grounded on impartial reaſon, and the ordinary diſpenſation of Providence, directing the revolutions and viciſſitudes of human affairs.

From the earlieſt times, the laws have decreed, that although the crown be hereditary, yet the right of ſucceſſion is not *indefeaſible.* The Engliſh have defeated, and altered the ſucceſſion as early as the time of Edward the Confeſſor, who was choſen king during the life of the lawful heir. The hiſtory of England affords ſeveral inſtances of the kind, a long time before the acceſſion of the Stuarts to the throne. The law both in preſent and paſt times, is, and has been, "That the crown is hereditary in "the wearer: that the king and both houſes "of parliament can defeat this hereditary right, "and by particular limitations exclude the im-

"mediate

" mediate heir, and veſt the inheritance in any " one elſe." Thus not only the Pretender, but even the preſent prince of Wales can be excluded from the throne, with the conſent of the king, lords, and commons.

Grotius, a learned and ſanguine ſtickler for *indefeaſible right*, tho' he cannot agree that the ſon of a dethroned king, can be lawfully excluded, yet is forced to acknowledge, that the ſame ſon, if not born whilſt his father was in poſſeſſion, can be deprived of his right to the throne with the conſent of the people, *becauſe ſuch a prince*, ſays he, *has no acquired right*. Illud " intereſt inter natos et naſcituros, quod naſ- " cituris nondum quæſitum ſit jus, atque adeo " iis auferri poſſit populi voluntate." Grot. de jure belli. lib. 2. c. 7. 26. This decides for ever the fate of Charles the Third, who was born a long time after his grandfather's expulſion. It is moreover grounded on the cleareſt principles of reaſon.

In effect, does reaſon allow that ſubjects ſhould be diſtracted, between kings in actual poſſeſſion of the throne, and the grandſons and great grandſons of kings who had formerly enjoyed it? Bound by the law of God to pay tribute to, and obey the king, whoſe image is

Bound by the dictates of conſcience to aſſert the claims of his rival: to pull down their king with one hand; to ſupport him on the throne with the other. Carrying within themſelves two oppoſite laws, which mixing and encountering like certain chymical liquors, raiſe a fermentation that cannot be allayed to the end of time.

Let us ſuppoſe that Charles Stuart *had a right* to the throne; his poſterity (if ever he chance to have any) to the laſt generation will claim the ſame. Let us ſuppoſe the Hanoverian line in poſſeſſion to the end of time. Lo, a curious ſight! The frame of government turning on two hinges, without being ſupported by either; two mathematical lines always approaching, without ever touching, and all future generations balanced and ſuſpended between both, without knowing which of the two to incline to. Good ſenſe, the law of nature, or the general good of mankind, to which the claims and intereſt of one man ſhould be ſubordinate, do they admit ſuch rigorous equity?

Celebrated objection of civilians, canoniſts, and divines:——

"Time is no active principle. Every thing is "done in time, but nothing by it; and a long "preſcription,

" preſcription, without a lawful title, is no leni-
" tive to the alarmed conſcience of the poſſeſ-
" ſor, nor bar to the claims of the diſpoſſeſſed."
The civil law has decided ſo. L. 3. 11. 3. ff.
de acq. vel amit. poſſ. " Non capit longa poſ-
" ſeſſione qui ſcit alienum eſſe." And the canon
law, Cap. poſſeſſor. de reg. juris. in 6. " Poſſeſ-
" ſor malæ fidei ullo tempore non præſcribit."

Anſwered: If a long preſcription, without an original title, cannot ſecure the conſciences of kings and ſubjects, God help the world! For great kingdoms, if traced back to their origin, are great robberies. " Sine juſtitia magna reg-
" na ſunt magna latrocinia."* By this rule, the Stuarts had no *right* to the throne of England: for their original title was defective, as derived from William the Conqueror, an uſurper, or from the ancient Saxons who plundered and diſpoſſeſſed the Britons. How can we calm the conſciences of the Dutch, Portugueſe, &c. formerly the ſubjects of Spain? I believe the moſt ſcrupulous amongſt them are unconcerned for the rights of their former maſters.

However, I acknowledge that time alone, without ſome concurrent cauſe, cannot legalize a preſcription. But in regard to kings and the

allegiance due from their ſubjects, a great number of reaſons ſupply the deficiency of the original title requiſite to commence a preſcription, viz. the conſent of the greateſt and wiſeſt part of a nation,—the acquieſcence of the whole community,—the peace of the public, diſturbed by factions and civil wars, ever and always attendant on changes in government,—the general good of mankind, inconſiſtent with the revival of old claims,—in fine, the diſpenſation of a juſt God, who viſited on Saul's poſterity their father's cruel treatment of the Gibeonites; and who poſitively declares, that 'he wreſts 'the ſceptre from one family, to lodge it in 'the hands of another, in puniſhment of for-'mer crimes.' "Transfert ſceptrum de regno "et de gente, ad populum alterum." "When "the political law has obliged a family to re-"nounce the ſucceſſion," ſays the preſident Monteſquieu, "it is abſurd to inſiſt on the reſ-"titutions drawn from the civil law. It is ri-"diculous to pretend to decide the rights of "kingdoms, of nations, and of the whole globe, "by the ſame maxims on which we ſhould de-"termine the right of a gutter between indi-"viduals."*

Further. King James the Second's quitting England, without even appointing a regent, and

* Monteſquieu's Spirit of Laws, Vol. II. page 193.

and his ſubſequent behaviour at the Boyne, is an abdication of the throne, or elſe there never has been a reſignation of royalty. *Fear!* He was intrepid enough before his ſon-in-law became his competitor; and tho' prince William wanted neither courage nor wiſdom, yet his proweſs was not ſo famed in the hiſtory of the times, as to ſtrike terror into a tolerable general, much leſs into the heart of a king, whom an exalted rank, the love of his ſubjects, and paternal authority, ſhould have animated with courage and reſolution. Old captain O'Regan was not afraid when he deſired king William's officers "to change generals, and fight the bat-"tle over again."*

In times of invaſion, thrones cannot be ſecured without bloodſhed. If the fear of a ball cannot diſpenſe ſubjects with fighting for their prince, the prince is bound to ſhare the danger, or at leaſt to remain in ſome part of the kingdom to watch and direct their operations. If the ſafety of the people be the ſupreme law, *ſalus populi ſuprema eſto*, and that kings are appointed guardians of the property and lives of their ſubjects, who in the beginning could have inſtituted a republican as well as a regal government, the king who prefers his perſonal

country, and abandons them a prey to the firſt occupant, forfeits all right to their allegiance. The law forbids the uſe of *two weights and two meaſures*; and there is no juſtice without equality.

To the Iriſh, then, king William with propriety might have applied Curio's ſpeech to Domitius's ſoldiers. "But did you deſert Do-"mitius, or Domitius his ſoldiers? Were you "not ready to endure the laſt extremities, "whilſt he privately endeavoured to eſcape? "And how can the oath any longer oblige "you, when he to whom you ſwore, having "thrown aſide all marks of conſular dignity, "became a private perſon, and a captive to "another?"*

Several generations have decayed and ſucceeded ſince James the ſecond has abdicated the throne. Time expunges the impreſſions of the neareſt and deareſt connections. We chearfully converſe in walking over the graves of friends, for whom we formerly cried. Had then our attachment to the Stuarts been formed of links of ſteel, it could not endure to the preſent generation.

But after having expatiated ſo long on the claims of a family, commencing in our misfortune

* Cæſar de Bell. Civ. l. 3. c. 13.

fortune and concluding in our ruin, let us attribute to a ſuperior cauſe the revolutions of kingdoms, and in the very ſport of human paſſions trace the footſteps of divine Providence. "That long concatenation of particular cauſes, which make and unmake empires, depends upon the ſecret orders of divine Providence," ſays the biſhop of Meaux. "God from the higheſt Heavens holds the "reigns of all the kingdoms of the earth: he "hath all hearts in his hands: ſometimes he "gives a looſe to them; and thereby moveth "all mankind. He it is who prepares effects "in their remoteſt cauſes, and he it is who "ſtrikes thoſe great ſtrokes, the counter-ſtroke "whereof is of ſuch extenſive conſequence. "Let us talk nó more of chance, or of fortune. "What is chance in regard to our uncertain "counſels, is a concerted deſign in a higher "counſel. Thereby is verified the ſaying of "the apoſtle, that God is the bleſſed and only "Potentate, the King of kings, and Lord of "lords, who cauſes all revolutions by an immutable counſel: who gives and takes away "power, who transfers it from one man to "another, from one houſe to another, from "one people to another, to ſhew, that they all "have it only borrowed, and that it is he alone

talk no more of the Stuarts, but bid them an eternal farewel.

ART. IV.

" And I do ſwear that I do reject and deteſt as " unchriſtian and impious to believe, that it " is lawful to murder or deſtroy any perſon " or perſons whatſoever, for or under pre- " tence of their being heretics, and alſo that " unchriſtian and impious principle, that no " faith is to be kept with heretics."

Any attempt to prove this article would be an idle taſk, whereas we are ſure never to convince, when we attempt to prove things too clear. In a word to buy a piece of cloth, and inſtead of paying to murder the draper, " for " or under pretence of his being an heretic," is a doctrine unknown to the moſt relaxed of our caſuiſts. We appeal to the gentlemen of different perſuaſions, to whom reſtitutions are daily made, through the lands of the Catholic clergy, and to ſuch of them as have been ſtopt on the high road, whether the robber has enquired into their religion? Murder is againſt the fifth commandment; injuſtice and fraud againſt the ſeventh. To ſuppoſe then that it is a principle of Roman Catholics to murder or cheat " any perſon or perſons whatſoever, for

" or

"or under the pretence of their being heretics," is to ſuppoſe them ignorant of the commandments of God.

Since the time of the emperor Theodoſius, laws have been enacted concerning hereſy. Lawyers and divines of both communions have been divided in their opinions: Geneva and London, Calviniſt magiſtrates, and Proteſtant kings, have concurred with the Spaniſh inquiſitors in blazing the fagot, and *foreſtalling* the rigour of eternal juſtice. The writ *De Hæretico Comburendo* (of committing heretics to the flames) was in force down to the reign of Charles the Second, and has met with a learned apologiſt in Calvin. By the ſtatute and common laws of England, ſome puniſhments are ſtill in force againſt heretics; but how far theſe and ſeverer puniſhments inflicted by the civil and imperial laws, are *impious and unchriſtian*, kings, not ſubjects, are intereſted to determine.

In every Chriſtian country, the Chriſtian religion is a part of the national laws; on the other hand, hereſy, in its looſeſt latitude, comprehends errors ſubverſive not only of revealed religion, but moreover of morality, and juſtice; ſuch as the error of the Priſcillianiſts, autho-

nying all rewards and puniſhments beyond the grave. Should then the ſupreme magiſtrate, to whom the right of the ſword is reſerved, determine the degree of puniſhment, and inſtead of impriſonment, baniſhment, &c. make it capital, let his conſcience condemn or acquit him. Every ſubject ſhould ſtill "reject and deteſt, as "unchriſtian and impious to believe, that it is "lawful to murder or deſtroy any perſon or "perſons whatſoever, for or under the pre-"tence of their being heretics." We are never to arrogate to ourſelves the power of life and death, which God has intruſted to the legiſlators, and to them alone.

To Catholic and Proteſtant magiſtrates let us, however, venture to propoſe the advice of St. Bernard: "Hæretici capiantur non armis, "ſed argumentis;*" "Let heretics be con-"vinced not with blows, but arguments;" and the opinion of St. Auguſtine, in his letter to count Marcellin: "No doctrine ſhould ſtrike a "deeper horror into the human heart, than "that which teacheth that it is lawful to kill "any perſon or perſons under pretence of he-"reſy, and under the maſk of religion, ſpreads "the diſmal ſeeds of the greateſt evils in the "Chriſtian world,—murders, diſſenſions, wars:"

* Bernard, in Cant. Serm. 62.

In fine, the opinion of a learned Proteſtant biſhop: "Among all the hereſies this age has "ſpawned, there is not one more contrary to "the whole deſign of religion, and more de-"ſtructive of mankind, than is that bloody "opinion of defending religion by arms, and "of forcible reſiſtance upon the colour of re-"ligion."

However, upon cloſer inſpection into thoſe perſecutions which have changed Europe into a ſcene of Gothic barbarity, we ſhall find a combination of various cauſes, amongſt which religion was a pretext, paſſion and policy the main ſprings.

To clear religion from thoſe bloody imputations, let us contraſt the preſent to the paſt times: the Huguenots, formerly victims to the policy of Catharine de Medicis, live now in peace and opulence, enjoy their rich eſtates in Poitou, Lower Normandy, &c. The order of Military Merit is inſtituted to reward the valour of their officers: and in France no man's religion is a bar to his promotion in the career of military honours, whereas nothing more common than to ſee the French legions commanded by Proteſtant generals. Here in Ireland, the Catholics formerly drove by thouſands into woods

privilege of becoming ſoldiers or mayor's ſer-jeants. The reſpective legions of the two kingdoms are now what they were then: whence proceeds this happy tranſition from perſecution to lenity? Not from the Chriſtian religion, whoſe ſpirit never changes; but from the different characters of its profeſſors.

The French Huguenots are now under Lewis XVI. They have been formerly under the ſway of a Medicis. Formerly under the Stuarts, we are now governed by the Brunſwicks. Our magiſtrates are Proteſtants, but quite different from thoſe who, inſtead of redreſſing grievances, uſed to foment the rebellion, with a view of enriching themſelves by the ſpoils of oppreſſion. In fine, ſir, let us diveſt ourſelves of paſſion: Religion will never arm our hand with the poniard.

ART V.

" I further declare, that it is no article of my
" faith, and that I do renounce, reject, and
" abjure the opinion, that princes excommu-
" nicated by the pope and council, or by
" any authority of the ſee of Rome, or by
" any authority whatſoever, may be depoſed
" or murdered by their ſubjects, or by any
" perſon whatſoever: and I do promiſe, that

" I will not hold, maintain, or abet any ſuch
" opinion, or any other opinion, contrary to
" what is expreſſed in this declaration."

This article of the teſt requires a peculiar diſcuſſion: as the pope's depoſing power has cauſed ſuch confuſion in Europe, during the great ſtruggles between the prieſthood and empire, and is often an engine employed in parliament, to defeat the good intentions of the members, who, from principles of humanity and zeal for the proſperity of the kingdom, endeavour to remove the heavy yoke of penal reſtraints. The queſtion is—Whether the depoſing power be an article of the Catholic faith? For my heart ſtartles and my hand recoils, at the words, " murdered by their ſubjects." As if the principles of any ſect of Chriſtians authorized a gloomy ruffian to plunge the dagger in the royal breaſt. To determine the queſtion, let us enquire, firſt, Into the doctrine of the church concerning the depoſing power: ſecondly, Into its origin.

Reſiſtance to princes has been an early charge againſt the church: and from her infancy down to this day, her paſtors and doctors have repelled the calumny. An *imputed* doctrine then,

[redacted]

It is true that the conceſſions of princes to the Apoſtolic ſee,—an exceſſive veneration for the firſt paſtor of the church,—flattery in ſome, —raſh zeal in others,—have raiſed up Bellarmin and ſome other champions for the depoſing power beyond the Alps. But the deviations of ſome individuals ſhould be conſidered as ſpots in the ſun, or the miſconduct of a citizen whoſe fault ſhould not be charged upon a large community.

The apologiſts of the depoſing power (now grown obſolete) are few: and their doctrine muſt either ſtand or fall with the evidence or inevidence of their arguments, unſupported by authority, and contradicted by the practice and doctrine of all ages and nations.

In the Apoſtles time, the Jews began to revolt, and ſow the ſeeds of that rebellion which aſſembled the Roman eagles round their walls, and involved their nation in final deſtruction: their great pretence was—the ſeeming impropriety of the ſubjection of God's choſen people to a heathen dominion: and, as the firſt converts ſprung from the Jews, the Heathens confounded together Jews and Chriſtians, and charged them alike with the doctrine of reſiſtance to ſubordination and government. The great St. Paul vindicates the Chriſtians, and lays

lays down for a general rule, "that every ſoul "muſt be ſubject to higher powers; that there "is no power but from God; and, that thoſe "who reſiſt receive damnation unto them-"ſelves." * Should any one reply, that "the "church has more power over Chriſtian kings, "as by baptiſm they become her children," it can be eaſily anſwered, that dominion and temporal power are founded in free-will and the laws of nations, but not conferred nor taken away by a ſpiritual regeneration: and Bellarmin himſelf is forced to acknowledge, that "the goſpel deprives no man of his right and "dominion, but gets him a new right to an "eternal kingdom." †

The apoſtolical conſtitutions, whether genuine or ſpurious, are certainly of an ancient date, and give us great inſight into the diſcipline of the primitive times. They command "to fear the king as God's inſtitution and ordi-"nance. ‡" "The Chriſtians worſhip God "only," ſays St. Juſtin Martyr, "they are "ſubject to the emperors in all things elſe." § "By whoſe command men are born," ſays St. Irenæus, "by his commands alſo are kings "ordained, as ſuits the circumſtances of thoſe

"over

"over whom they are ſet: ſome for the amend-
"ment and benefit of their ſubjects: and ſome
"for fear and puniſhment: for reproof and
"contempt as the people ſhall have deſerved:
"the juſt judgment of God reaching equally to
"all." Tertullian, St. Ambroſe, St. Auguſtin, St. Gregory Nyſſen, Optatus Milevitanus, in fine, all the fathers declare, "that kings have none "above them but God alone, who made them "kings: that God beſtows the heavenly feli-"city on the godly only, but the kingdoms of "the earth on both godly and ungodly: and "that to him alone, the cruel Marius and the "gracious Cæſar, Auguſtus the beſt of prin-"ces, Nero one of the worſt, Conſtantine the "Chriſtian, and Julian the apoſtate are equally "indebted for their authority and power."

If from the fathers you continue the long chain of venerable antiquity through the ſucceſſive reigns of the Roman pontiffs, you will find the *depoſing power* aſſumed by few; the pre-eminence of kings, and their dependence on God alone, aſſerted by the mildeſt and moſt learned, and thoſe by far the greateſt number.

St. Gregory the Great, not only diſclaims any temporal power over kings, but even acknowledges himſelf their ſubject: The emperor

peror inſiſts on the publication of a law. The pope writes to him: "I being ſubject to your "command, have cauſed the law to be ſent "into ſeveral parts, and becauſe the law agrees "not with God omnipotent, I have by letter "informed my ſerene lord. Wherefore I have "in both done what I ought, obeyed the em- "peror, and not concealed what I thought "for God." Eleutherius, Anaſtaſius 2, Gelaſius, Symmachus, Gregory 2, Leo 4, Nicholas 3, Adrian 1, Nicholas 2, John 8, and Celeſtin 3, call the king "God's vicar on earth:" forbid the prieſt to "uſurp the regal dignity;" and confine the power of the church "to the "diſpenſation of divine, that of the prince to "the adminiſtration of temporal things."

If you conſult cardinals, who have heightened the glory of their purple by their learning and piety, you will meet with numerous and ſteady aſſerters of regal independence. "I pre- "ſuppoſe what is known even to the vulgar," ſays cardinal Cuſanus, "that the imperial cel- "ſitude is independent of the ſacerdotal power, "having an immediate dependence on God. "Between the kingdom and prieſthood, the "proper offices of each are diſtinct, that the "king may make uſe of the arms of the world,

" and the prieſt be girt with the ſword of the " ſpirit, which is the word of God," ſays cardinal Damianus.* In anſwer to ſome objections drawn from the conduct of a pope, regular and exemplary in other reſpects, but too ready to interfere in temporal concerns, this great man replies: " I ſay what I think, that " neither Peter obtained the apoſtolical princi- " pality, becauſe he denied Chriſt; nor David " deſerved the oracle of prophecy, becauſe he " defiled another mrn's bed." As much as to ſay, that this pope committed a fault, which he afterwards cancelled by repentance.

If you ſtill fear that the long-fam'd Britiſh throne ſhould be overturned by ſyllogiſms, or that the jars of ſchoolmen may ſilence the Engliſh cannon, (for you have nothing more to apprehend from the pope) I can march to your aid a formidable army of ſcholaſtic divines armed *cap-a-pee* in ſupport of regal pre-eminence.—Navar, Durandus, Joan. Paris, Almain. Gerſon, Victorja, Thom. Wald. Anton. de Roſelli, Ægidius Rom. Ambros. Catharinus, &c. &c. ſome of whom qualify the depoſing power with the epithets of *horrible and ſeditious*: and others ſtyle it *downright madneſs*.† Add to the foregoing authorities, the council of Conſtance

* Damianus, Lib. iv. Epiſt. 9.

† Ambros. Cathar. in 13 Rom. Roſelli, de pot. pap.

ſtance in the year 1415. The declaration of the provincial congregation of the Jeſuits at Ghent in the year 1681, and that of the clergy of France in 1682; who declare that "kings "and princes by God's ordinance are not ſub- "ject in temporals to any eccleſiaſtical power, "and that they cannot be depoſed directly nor "indirectly, by the authority of the keys of "the church, neither can their ſubjects be "freed from fealty and obedience, nor ab- "ſolved from their oath of allegiance." "Re- "ges ergo et principes in temporalibus nulli "eccleſiaſticæ poteſtati Dei ordinatione ſubjici, "neque authoritate clavium eccleſiæ directe vel "indirecte deponi, aut illorum ſubditos eximi "a fide atque obedientia, ac præſtito fidelitatis "ſacramento ſolvi poſſe: eamque ſententiam, "ut verbo Dei, patrum traditioni, et ſanctorum "exemplis conſonam, omnio retinendam." * Even in the canon law it is declared, that "kings acknowledge no ſuperior in tempo- "rals:" and that "appeals concerning tem- "porals ſhould not be brought to the pope's "tribunal." †

In fine, the depoſing power was ſo unknown in primitive times, that Bellarmin, who has ranſacked the works of the fathers, and enriched

him-

himſelf with their ſpoils, in defending the doctrine of the church, could cite none but St. Bernard in ſupport of the novel doctrine of depoſition: and yet this father, who mentions two *ſwords* in the church, only means that in the church are Chriſtian princes inveſted with the right of the ſword: For, in writing to pope Eugenius, the ſaint uſes theſe remarkable words; "Earthly kingdoms have their judges, "princes and kings. Why do you thruſt your "ſickle into another man's harveſt? St. Peter "could not give what he had not: did he give "dominion? It is the ſaying of the Lord in the "goſpel, the kings of the gentiles have domi-"nion over them, but you not ſo. It is plain, "dominion is forbid to apoſtles. Go now and "dare uſurp either dominion with the apoſtle-"ſhip, or with the apoſtleſhip dominion. You "are plainly forbid the one. If you will have "both, you will loſe both: you will be of the "number of thoſe of whom God complains, "they have been princes, and I knew them "not." *

Bellarmin's miſapplication of St. Bernard's text, was not the only miſtake his antagoniſts have cenſured. His wild conjecture, that "the "Chriſtians would have depoſed Nero and Ju-"lian the Apoſtate, and the like, had they had "the

* St. Bernard, Lib. 2. de Conſid.

"the power to do it," raiſed the indignation of the Catholic univerſities. "Quid ſi Chriſtiani "olim non depoſuerunt Neronem, et Julianum "Apoſtatam, et ſimiles, id fuit quia defuerant "vires temporales Chriſtianis."* The deciſion was conſidered by the Catholic divines, as more becoming the ſcarlet robe of the ſtern Brutus, who beheaded his children for ſiding with their king, than the purple of the Chriſtian cardinal. It was *reviſed* by the univerſity of Paris; *corrected* by the hangman with a blazing fagot; and contradicted by the unexceptionable teſtimony of Tertullian and St. Auguſtine. "Should we want numbers or forces, if we "had a mind to be open enemies?" ſays Tertullian. "Are the Moors, and Marcomans, "and Parthians, and whatever nations of one "place, and confined to their own limits, more "than thoſe of the whole world? We are but "men of yeſterday; and yet have filled all the "places you have,—your cities, iſlands, caſtles, "boroughs, councils, and camp itſelf, your "tribes, courts, the ſenate, and the market. "We have left you only the temples. For "what war are not we fit and ready, (even "though we were inferior in number) who en-"dure death ſo willingly, if in this diſcipline

"it

"it were as lawful to kill as to be killed?"* "They could at their pleaſure have depoſed "Julian," ſays St. Auguſtine, "but would not "becauſe they were ſubject for neceſſity, not "only to avoid anger, but for conſcience and "love, and becauſe our Lord ſo commanded."† In effect, ſir, laying aſide the truth of hiſtory, had Peter and Paul been as willing to depoſe kings, *for the glory of God, and the propagation of religion*, as ſome of our modern zealots of all communions, how could Nero have withſtood thoſe apoſtles, whoſe word alone was to Ananias and Saphira a meſſenger of death, ſtruck the magicians blind, and raiſed the dead to life?

I ſay, *of all communions:* for in every communion there are men of depoſing principles, which their religion diſclaims. "Iliacos intra "muros peccatur et extra." Doleman, Buchanan, Milton, Johnſon,‡ Hobbes, Hoadly, Locke, and ſeveral other advocates of republican principles, and ſticklers for popular rights, are more dangerous than Bellarmin, who diſowns the depoſing power, except in the caſe of a prince forcing his ſubjects to change their religion: "Si enim tales principes non conentur "fideles

* Tert. Apol. c. 37.

† In Pſal. 124.

‡ Not the compiler of the Dictionary.

" fideles a fide avertere, non exiſtimo poſſe eos " privari ſuo dominio."* A *ſalvo* which, I hope, will remove all umbrage and ſuſpicion from the minds of our governors: as they do not reckon perſecution in the number of their cardinal virtues: even if they did, reſiſtance is not a principle of the Catholic religion.

But I am clearly of opinion, that had Mr. Locke, the wiſeſt and moſt moderate of thoſe Engliſh writers, been an officer in Julian's army, he would have *reaſoned* the ſoldiers into open rebellion. He that compares ſubjects, who would brook the violence and oppreſſion of their ſupreme rulers, to fools, " who take care " to avoid what miſchiefs may be done them " by pole-cats or foxes, but are content, nay " think it ſafety to be devoured by lions;" † and illuſtrates his doctrine with the following example: " He that hath authority to ſeize my " perſon in the ſtreet, may be oppoſed as a " thief and a robber, if he endeavours to break " into my houſe to execute a writ, notwith- " ſtanding that I know he has ſuch a warrant, " and ſuch a legal authority, as will empower " him to arreſt me abroad. And why this " ſhould not hold in the higheſt, as well as in " the moſt inferior magiſtrate, I would gladly

Here you ſee a *philoſophical* freedom breaking the ſhackles of reſtraint and *ceremony*, and under the pretence of redreſſing imaginary grievances, introducing real miſchief and a ſtate of nature, wherein the moſt factious and daring adventurers would take the lead. "For "this devolution of power to the people at "large, includes in it a diſſolution of the whole "form of government eſtabliſhed by that peo-"ple," ſays judge Blackſtone, "reduces all "the members to their original ſtate of equa-"lity, and by annihilating the ſovereign power, "repeals all poſitive laws whatſoever before "enacted. No human laws will therefore ſup-"poſe a caſe, which at once muſt deſtroy all "law."* "Wo to all the princes upon earth," ſays a Proteſtant archbiſhop, "if this doctrine "*(of reſiſtance)* be true and becometh popular: "if the multitude believe this, the prince, not "armed with the ſcales of the Leviathan, can "never be ſafe from the ſpears and barbed "irons, which ambition, preſumed intereſt, "and malice will ſharpen, and paſſionate vio-"lence will throw againſt him. If the beaſt "we ſpeak of but knows its own ſtrength, it "will never be managed."†

"But

* Blackſtone's Com. b. 1. p. 162.

† Creed of Mr. Hobbes, examined by the archbiſhop of Canterbury.

"But the ſame equality of juſtice and free-
"dom that obliged me to lay open this," ſays the biſhop of Sarum, "ties me to tax all thoſe "who pretend a great heat againſt Rome, and "value themſelves on their abhorring all the "doctrines and practices of that church, and "yet have carried along with them one of their "moſt *peſtiferous opinions*,* pretending refor-"mation when they would bring all under "confuſion; and vouching the cauſe and work "of God, when they were deſtroying the au-"thority he had ſet up, and oppoſing thoſe "impowered by him: and the more piety and "devotion ſuch daring pretenders put on, it "ſtill brings the greater ſtain and imputation "on religion, as if it gave a patronacy to thoſe "practices it ſo plainly condemns."† The borders of the Thames and Tweed afford then advocates for the *depoſing power*, as well as the banks of the Tyber and Po.

On the banks of the Tyber a bigotted Divine veſts in the pope an *indirect power* over wicked kings. On the banks of the Thames an enthuſiaſtic Engliſhman veſts in the ſubject a *direct power* over his ſovereign. Religion points out an intermediate courſe, without giving

ing a *patronacy* to reveries, and mankind ſhall always find their account, better in mediums, than in extremes. The doctrine of the Italian has fattened the German ſoil with dead bodies, and induced a pope* to attempt placing his fleſh and blood on the throne of the Cæſars. The doctrine of the Engliſhman has placed dray-men and coblers in the ſeats of Britiſh peers; and by an extraordinary viciſſitude in bringing a king to the block in England, raiſed a taylor to the throne in Germany.†

Such are the fruits of thoſe two ſyſtems, equally pernicious to the ſafety of kings, and the peace of ſociety. Their reſpective authors, in ſtriking from the plain road of the Chriſtian doctrine, "Let every ſoul be ſubject to higher "powers," into the airy paths of ſpeculation, have buſied themſelves in purſuit of a plan the moſt alarming to mankind. Kings were beheaded, and others depoſed, before ſome of thoſe authors had publiſhed their works, it is true: but they are the more juſtifiable in publiſhing a doctrine which may tincture the ſcaffold a ſecond time? The difference between them is, that the Engliſhman, in terſe and popular language, engages the imagination; adorns his ſubject by a long chain of deductions;

* Alexander VI.

† John of Leyden, a taylor, made king of Munſter.

makes truth bend to argument, reality to appearance; and is read by all. In this great arſenal, every common reader can find arms to reduce his king to reaſon; the ſhipwright and carpenter are enabled, by the rules of political logic, to trim the *veſſel* of ſtate, and ſteer it through the unbounded ocean of conſtitutional liberty. But the ultramontane divine, *briſtling* with barbarous Latin, is not read by one in three millions. Powdered with duſt, and ſtretched on the ſhelf of a college-library, he ſleeps as ſound as Endimion in his cave; and more is the pity: for his doctrine of the depoſing power is founded on as ſolid proofs as the hiſtory of that Spaniard who made a voyage to the moon; and diſplayed in a ſtyle not inferior to that of Valentine and Orſon. Of his ſtyle and arguments I ſend you the following *ſample:*

"Probatur per ſimilitudinem ad artem *frænifactoriam** et equeſtrem. Ut enim duæ ille artes ſunt inter ſe diverſæ, quia diſtincta habent objecta, et ſubjecta, et actiones; et tamen quia finis unius ordinatur ad finem alterius, ideo una, alteri præeſt, et leges ei præſcribit: ita videntur poteſtas eccleſiaſtica et politica, diſtinctæ

" diſtinctæ poteſtates eſſe; et tamen una alteri
" ſubordinata, quoniam finis unius ad finem al-
" terius natura ſua refertur." " That the pope
" has an indirect power in temporals is proved
" by the example of the art of making bridles,
" and the art of riding: for as theſe two arts
" are different, becauſe they have different ob-
" jects, and ſubjects, and actions: and not-
" withſtanding, becauſe the end of one is ap-
" pointed for the end of the other, therefore one
" preſides over the other, and preſcribes laws
" to it: in like manner, the eccleſiaſtical and
" political powers ſeem to be diſtinct powers,
" and the one nevertheleſs ſubordinate to the
" other, becauſe the end of the one is by its
" own nature referred to the end of the other."

There, ſir, is *learned* gibberiſh, *ſaddling* the pope on the backs of kings, by Ariſtotle's metaphyſics, the *object*, *ſubject*, *action*, *relation*, and *end* of *bridle-making*.

Another advocate for the depoſing power diſapproves the ſimile: " Becauſe," ſays he, very gravely, " if the art of riding were taken
" away, bridles would be uſeleſs: but the poli-
" tical power can ſubſiſt without the eccleſiaſti-
" cal." " Si enim non ſit ars equeſtris, ſuper-
" vacanea eſt ars frænorum faciendorum:"*

* Bellarmin, lib. v. de Rom. Pontif.

An attempt to rectify the lameneſs of the compariſon, by one quite as lame. If I had not the authority of a cardinal to apologize for an abſurdity, I ſhould not mention it, for fear of being cenſured: but I expect, that, with his eminence's paſſport, it will be well received by the public. He compares then the pope to a *ſhepherd*, and the king to *aries*. "Paſtori eſt "poteſtas triplex: una circa lupos, altera circa "arietes, tertia circa oves: unde debet arietem "furioſum depellere."*

You have in theſe two ſimiles as ſolid arguments in favour of the depoſing power, as Albertus Phigius and Bellarmin have ever advanced in ſupport of their hypotheſis: and to them and their authors, I grant the ſame paſſport the ſatiriſt granted Annibal in croſſing the Alps:

"I, demens, et ſævas curre per Alpes,
"Ut pueris placeas, et declamatio fias."†

You are to expect ſome ſcripture, in like manner: for there never has been an error, how monſtrous ſoever, but ſcripture was quoted to give it ſome colour. Arians, Eutychians, Neſtorians have wreſted the ſacred writings to a wrong ſenſe. The advocates for the depoſing power had done the ſame. They quote St. Paul

who blames the Corinthians for pleading before heathen magiſtrates. This proves that you and I could depoſe a king, becauſe we would adviſe our neighbour to avoid troubleſome and ſcandalous law-ſuits, and leave the deciſion to the arbitration of two honeſt neighbours. "Jehoiada, the high prieſt, ordered queen Athalia to "be ſlain.* Ergo, the pope has an indirect "power over bad kings."

This proves a *direct* power, not only to depoſe, but to murder them: a power which neither Bellarmin nor any Catholic divine has ever vouched. Secondly: Athalia, who had murdered all the princes of the royal houſe of Judah, except Joaſh, was no longer queen, when the ſentence was paſſed on her; for the young prince was crowned in the temple, and recognized by his ſubjects. His minority could not have deprived him of the right of the ſword: and Jehoiada acted as miniſter of ſtate, not in his pontifical character. This evinces Bellarmin's blunder in confounding together the queen and ſubject, the pontiff and counſellor. Thirdly: during the ſix years ſhe ſwayed the ſceptre, none of her ſubjects revolted againſt her, much leſs did the pious pontiff abſolve them from their allegiance, though ſhe re-eſtabliſhed Baal's worſhip, and maintained his prieſts in the temple of

* Fourth Book of Kings.

of the true God. A circumſtance which Bellarmin ſhould have attended to, had he a mind to read his condemnation. Solomon depoſed Abiathar, the high prieſt: will Bellarmin grant me the liberty to infer from this fact, that kings can depoſe popes?

Such are the ridiculous ſhifts to which the patrons of a bad cauſe are inevitably reduced! Wild and unnatural ſimiles, or facts that prove too much, and can be juſtly retorted on themſelves. Am I accountable for their folly? Or muſt an Iriſh Catholic ſtarve, becauſe an Italian wrote nonſenſe in bad ~~Italian~~ Latin, two hundred years ago?

Had he not ſlackened the reins of an enthuſiaſtic imagination, and let it looſe to its random flights, he could have ſpared himſelf the trouble of ſoaring to Heaven, in purſuit of this offſpring of human ambition, or the zeal of earthly kings. For that the depoſing power originated either in privileges granted by pious zeal, or covenants entered into and ſealed by ambition, hiſtory leaves no room to doubt, and religion forbids to believe otherwiſe.

Let us begin at home. Inas, king of the weſt Saxons, renders his kingdom tributary to the

future claims. Henry the ſecond ſolicits and obtains a bull from pope Adrian, in order to invade Ireland. The pope grants it: but, in bleſſing this new diſh that is to be ſerved on the Engliſh monarch's table, he carves his own portion. And why not? The one had as good a right to it as the other.

It is inſerted in the bull, that 'the annual 'penſion of one penny from every houſe ſhould 'be ſaved to St. Peter.' If the holy father and his *dear and illuſtrious ſon*, as he ſtyles him, had afterwards quarrelled about the ſpoils, the religion of the ſubject ſhould not be concerned in the diſpute. King John, in his conteſtations with Philip Auguſtus of France, appeals to the pope, and renders him the arbiter of rights that ſhould be decided by the ſword. The French monarch lays in his exceptions to the pope's tribunal, as incompetent in ſuch a caſe. The Engliſhman chooſes a maſter. Lo, the gradual progreſſion of the pope's temporal power in Great Britain. It takes its firſt riſe from piety,—acquires additional degrees of ſtrength by ambition,—and is confirmed by the weakneſs of Engliſh monarchs. Hence queen Elizabeth's excommunication, and the abſolution of her ſubjects from their allegiance by pope Sixtus, were more owing to *Peter's Pence* than

to

to *Peter's keys.* The noiſe of the thunder of the Vatican did not reach Sweden or Denmark, becauſe the effluvia of their mines, and the filings of their gold were never carried by royal ſtipulations into the regions of the Italian atmoſphere, to kindle into flames and cauſe an exploſion. But queen Elizabeth could not have pleaded a hundred years preſcription againſt the court of Rome. "Pope Paul IV. was ſur-"prized at her boldneſs, in aſſuming the crown, "a fief of the Holy See, without his conſent."* Remark in the word *(fief)* a temporal claim, but no divine title.

If from Great Britain we paſs into Germany, we can trace the riſe and progreſs of the depoſing power, in the grants of crowned heads, in pacts and ſtipulations, and in mutual favours and offices of friendſhip.

In the eighth century, when the citizens of Rome were haraſſed by the Lombards, and ſlighted by the Greeks, their lawful maſters, Charlemagne marches to their aſſiſtance, defeats the Lombards, is crowned by pope Leo III. and ſaluted emperor by the ſenate and people of Rome. Nicephorus, who afterwards uſurped the throne of Conſtantinople, ſends Ambaſſadors to the new emperor, and conſents

its own weight, and expoſed to the firſt ſoldier of fortune who had addreſs to form a faction, and courage to plunge the dagger into the breaſt of the tyrant who filled the throne. What Leo III. has done, proved no right (if it proves any) but that of the law of nature, which authorizes a man, beſet by his enemies, to call for aſſiſtance to the firſt who is willing to lend it, and in the effuſions of gratitude to thank his deliverer. Bellarmin then has loſt his labour in writing a book, to prove that the pope has transferred the empire from the Greeks to the Germans, the better to give ſome colour to the "baſeleſs fabric" of the depoſing power; for Leo III. did not deprive the Eaſtern princes of a foot of ground.

The empreſs Irene, afterwards dethroned by Nicephorus, retained her dominions after the coronation of Charles, who acquired nothing by the title of emperor, but a *founding* compliment. All ſubſequent acceſſions were either by right of conqueſt, the tacit or expreſs conſent of the Greeks, or the choice of the ſenate and Roman people, who preferred a powerful and uſeful ſtranger, to a weak and uſeleſs maſter.

The compliment, however, laid the foundation of a power ſtrengthened by the emperor's and

will, ſent to Rome for the pope's approbation, and raiſed to the higheſt altitude, by Charles the Bald's purchaſing the Imperial Crown, for a ſum of money, from pope John VIII. Hence fœderal tranſactions, promiſes confirmed by oath, pacts and ſtipulations between popes and emperors, who uſed to ſwear on St. Peter's tomb, and ſubſcribe the conditions impoſed on them. In the great ſtruggles between the two powers, the popes grounded their claims on cuſtom and oaths, as may be ſeen in ſeveral paſſages of the canon law. "Adſtrin-"gere vinculo juramenti," ſays pope Clement V. "prout tam nos obſervationis antiquæ tem-"poribus noviſſimis renovatæ, quam forma ju-"ramenti hujuſmodi ſacris inſerta canonibus "manifeſtant."* *Jus divinum*, divine right, or a plenitude of apoſtolic power, was out of the queſtion.

In effect, ſir, before the tenth century, there have been as bad kings, and good popes as ever ſince. The cauſe of religion was equally intereſting, and religion itſelf more violently perſecuted. The Roman pontiffs had the ſame ſpiritual authority, the promotion of piety and faith equally at heart, and in the great number ſome

ſome were influenced by different paſſions and views. For in this mortal life, we all retain ſome impreſſions of the frailty of our origin.

Yet neither piety, nor ambition, the propagation of faith, nor the reformation of morals, ever induced them to attempt the depoſing of kings, or arrogating to themſelves a power diſclaimed by the Saviour of the world, convicted of falſehood by his apoſtles, and unheard of in the church for the ſpace of ten ages. Why have ſome of the ſucceeding pontiffs deviated from the primitive path? I ſay *ſome*, becauſe it would be unjuſt to charge them all alike. They are diſtinct individuals ſucceeding one another in the ſame throne, and one is as much to be blamed for the faults of his predeceſſor, as George III. is accountable for the licentiouſneſs of Charles II.

Why have ſome of them deviated from the primitive path? It is that they had preſcription and privilege to plead, oaths and treaties to ſupport their claims. In the conduct of kings, chooſing them for arbiters to their quarrels, covers to their uſurpations, and liege Lords of their territories, they found a ſpecious pretext to puniſh the infraction of treaties, and the breach of prerogative. A repetition of the ſame acts introduced cuſtom, cuſtom obtained the power

power of law, the law bound the parties concerned, and the violation of the law has been attended with penalties. Hence the depoſition of an emperor was more owing to the code and pandects of Juſtinian, than to the goſpel of Chriſt. The popes who ſtretched their prerogative beyond the bounds of moderation, were blamed by the Catholics themſelves, whoſe religion was in no wiſe concerned in the quarrels of their ſuperiors, and the few enthuſiaſtic flatterers, who have attempted to lodge *Paul's ſword* and *Peter's keys* in the ſame hand, and to make an univerſal monarch of the vicar of a crucified God, who acknowledged the power of a Heathen magiſtrate, have injured religion, and betrayed either their madneſs or ignorance. They have confounded fact with right, the unalterable dogmas of faith with the flux and changeable cuſtoms of men, and built a Chalcedon, though they had a Byzantium before their eyes.

They ſhould have conſidered, that the church pleads antiquity, and that her criterion of truth, and teſt of ſound doctrine, is that golden rule of Vincentius Lerinenſis: "Quod ſemper, quod "ubique, quod ab omnibus." "What has been "held ever, and every where, and by all,

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ſeven years, from St. Peter to Gregory VII: a great chaſm this! and the chain of tradition muſt be very ſhort, when you take off a thouſand and eighty-ſeven links.

The apoſtles and their ſucceſſors preached the Chriſtian doctrine in all its rigour. They taught kings to cheriſh the croſs in their hearts, before it was diſplayed in their banners, and to prefer a heavenly before an earthly throne. Had they thought (and who could know better?) that the power to depoſe them, and to abſolve their ſubjects from their allegiance, were conducive to the glory of God and the honour of religion, they never would have concealed it, much leſs would they have commanded to obey them.

Every where and by all. The depoſing power though grounded as I remarked before, on temporal claims, has been oppoſed by the Catholics from its birth. In Germany by open force and bloody wars: in Ireland, whoſe kings and prelates paid no attention to the famous bull of pope Adrain: In England by a ſolemn declaration, 16 Rich. II. Even under Elizabeth, a Proteſtant queen, the Engliſh Catholics joined their ſovereign, and paid a greater regard to the command of St: Paul, *obey the prince*, than to the diſpenſation of Sixtus

tus Quintus, or the expectation of being relieved by a Catholic king, which made the Spaniſh admiral ſay, " that if he had landed, he would " have made no diſtinction between a Catholic " and a Proteſtant, ſave what diſtinction the " point of his ſword would have made between " their fleſh." I believe it; for a conqueror's ſword is an undiſtinguiſhing weapon, were even a crucifix tied to the hilt of it. In invading England, it is the enemy of Spain, not the enemy of the maſs, the Spaniards would attack; were they here this inſtant, they would not deprive a Proteſtant of his eſtate, becauſe it belonged three hundred years ago to ſome old Mileſian, whoſe poſterity is now at the plough; it would not be their intereſt, the laws of conſcience and conqueſt forbid it, and the rivals of England will always find their intereſt in the poverty and defenceleſs ſituation of her ſubjects.

In fine, the pope's temporal power has been baffled by the Venetians in their conteſts with Paul V. And in France, whoever would argue in its favour would be confuted with a halter, or galley chain.

According to the canon law, a hundred years preſcription in temporals can be pleaded againſt

"manam valet præſcriptio centum annorum." A hundred years and more have elapſed, ſince no pope has attempted to diſpoſe of kingdoms, or abſolve ſubjects from their allegiance, though armies have been poured into the pope's territories, and his cities taken by Catholic princes. Out of his own ſtates, his temporal prerogative is confined to a palfrey he receives from the king of Naples every year, as a cuſtomary homage. The two late popes have abſolutely diſclaimed any temporal power over kings. Thus, things have returned back into the former channel of primitive ſimplicity: *God has his own, and Cæſar his due*; and the two powers which men had confounded, and blended into *one* Delphian ſword, equally adapted to the miniſtry of the altar and profane uſes, are again divided.

In tracing thus the temporal power, we have choſen a medium between the enthuſiaſm of ſome Italians, and the prejudices of their antagoniſts. The picture drawn by thoſe different painters, is all light or ſhadow. In reſolving it into the grants of kings and civil contracts, preſcription and a colourable title, as its firſt principles, we prefer the middle tints: and in meaſuring the portrait by this rule, we give it its due dimenſions.

ART.

ART. VI.

" AND I do ſolemnly, in the preſence of God, " and of his only Son Jeſus Chriſt my Re- " deemer, profeſs, teſtify, and declare, that I " do make this declaration, and every part " thereof, in the plain and ordinary ſenſe of " the words of this oath, without any evaſion, " equivocation, or mental reſervation, what- " ever; and without any diſpenſation already " granted by the pope, or any authority of " the ſee of Rome, or any perſon whatever; " and without thinking I am or can be ac- " quitted before God or man, or abſolved of " this declaration, or any part thereof, al- " though the pope, or any other perſon or " perſons, or any authority whatſoever, ſhall " diſpence with, or annul the ſame, or de- " clare that it was null and void from the " beginning."

This laſt paragraph excludes amphibologies, evaſions, equivocations, and mental reſervations everſive of natural candour and Chriſtian ſincerity,—branded by the paſtors of the church with the odious qualifications of " raſh, ſcan- " dalous, pernicious, erroneous, opening the

relaxed propoſitions condemned by pope Innocent XI. and the clergy of France *, and deteſted by the very heathens:

" Ille mihi inviſus pariter cum faucibus Orci,
" Cujus mens aliud condit quam lingua profatur."

Upon theſe principles, the Catholics have taken the oath: and on theſe principles, it can be ſafely taken. It propoſes nothing to their abhorrence and deteſtation, but what they really abhor and deteſt: it requires no promiſe but what is juſt and lawful.

But as the oath is complicate, and perplexed with a variety of phraſes,—as it minces even a ſyllable,—and that the *letter* ſeems to claſh with the *ſpirit*,—it is not ſurpriſing if many objections have been ſtarted againſt it.

Objections from the Hibernian Journal:

Firſt: " In ſwearing to ſupport the ſucceſ-
" ſion of the crown in his majeſty's family, I
" bind myſelf to that which there is a poſſibility
" a loyal ſubject to the conſtitution might not
" have in his power to perform."

Anſwer. You are not bound to impoſſibilities; neither does the oath require it, whereas it expreſſes, " to the utmoſt of my power."

* Propoſitio 27, inter condemnatas ab Innoc. XI.

Secondly: "I am bound to take the oath *in* "*the plain and ordinary ſenſe of the words:* con- "ſequently, though untrained to arms, and "unſkilled in military diſcipline, I muſt run to "the field of battle, in caſe of invaſion or re- "bellion: otherwiſe, I do not exert myſelf to "the *utmoſt of my power.*"

Anſwer. You ſerve your king to "the ut- "moſt of your power," by remaining at home. You would only cauſe diſorder: and an army in diſorder flies to the ſlaughter-houſe, not to victory: "Non ad victoriam, ſed ad lani- "enam.*" The magiſtrate ſupports his king, "to the utmoſt of his power," in maintaining the public peace: the ſurgeon, in dreſſing the ſoldiers wounds: the clergyman, in preaching loyalty and ſubordination, regularity and good morals, fraternal love and mutual benevolence. The king requires no more: and, as you write a great deal, under the ſignature of "An old "Derryman," all his majeſty expects from one of your age, is—*to light the fire*, and to be hoſ- pitable, when his ſoldiers are quartered on you.

Thirdly: "In ſwearing that I cannot be ab- "ſolved of this allegiance, *by any authority what-* "*ſoever*, I deny the ſupremacy of the lords "and commons."

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Anſwer. Your objection is grounded on error. The ſupreme power of the ſtate is veſted in the parliament, compoſed of king, lords, and commons.*

Fourthly: "What happened once may happen again. If the king attempts to overturn "the conſtitution, I muſt help him, if I pay "any regard to my oath, and thus betray my "country: or perjure myſelf, if I refuſe aſ-"ſiſtance."

Anſwer. Leſt "what hath happened once, "may happen again," ſay with the royal prophet, "Domine ſalvum fac regem," "God "ſave the king!" However, to allay your anxieties, remember that ſubjects do not ſwear to kings, as robbers or pirates ſwear to their leaders. You are not bound to help a king in his attempts againſt the laws of God and nature, when you have *clear* evidence that his attempts tend to the ſubverſion of both; neither doth the teſt require, whereas, "true allegi-"ance" is expreſly mentioned. But in a doubt you are bound to obey; becauſe in a doubt concerning the rectitude of their intentions, or the juſtice of their cauſe, preſumption is in favour of your ſuperiors.

* Blackſtone's Comment. B. 1. Ch. 2. p. 147.

What a kingdom! If all the inhabitants were aſtronomers, metaphyſicians, and caſuiſts, who would neither obey nor promiſe to be loyal to their ſovereigns, until they would have read in the ſtars the fate of the conſtitution, and explored the remote regions of metaphyſics in ſearch of the eſſential and demonſtrative relations of unalterable truth to Magna Charta; Gulliver's floating iſland would be the fitteſt kingdom for ſuch aërial inhabitants.

Further: If the remote and poſſible danger of the conſtitution's overthrow, or the ſubverſion of the fundamental laws of any realm, were a ſufficient objection againſt oaths of allegiance, either all the diſtinguiſhed ſubjects of the world are perjured, or no king is entitled to their allegiance. For in ſwearing to their reſpective ſovereigns, I do not believe that Britiſh peers, French nobles, or Spaniſh grandees, with all the delicacy of honour, Catholic or Proteſtant biſhops, with all their divinity, uſe the following form of words: "I will bear alle-"giance to your majeſty, if you behave as an "honeſt man, and do not overturn the con-"ſtitution."

Before the royal head is encircled with the diadem, the monarch obteſts the awful name of

ſubjects in "juſtice and mercy." They acknowledge their ſovereign and ſwear to be loyal. His future conduct, and the inconſtancy of his will, are left to him who holds in his hands the hearts of kings, who, by the laws of England "can do no wrong." The legiſlative power retains a right, and has the means of examining in what manner the laws are executed or infringed, by bringing the king's counſellors to a ſtrict account. "But whatever may be the "iſſue of this examination," ſays Monteſquieu, "the king's perſon is ſacred, the moment he "is arraigned or tried, there is an end of liber-"ty."* The conſtitution then is equally in danger, of being overturned by a refuſal of allegiance, "applicable not only to the regal office "of the king, but to his natural perſon and "blood royal."†

Objections from the *Hibernian Magazine*.

Firſt: "No man can ſafely ſwear to a thing "of which he is not certain. Now the teſt "obliges the Catholics to decide by oath, that "they have poſitive and clear reaſons not to "believe that any foreign prince *ought* to have "any civil pre-eminence within this realm. "Now, what individual can pretend to ſo deep "an

* Spirit of Laws, vol. 1. p. 181.

† Blackſtone's Com. Vol. 1. p. 371.

"an inſight into the much debated rights of "princes as to determine with certainty on ſo "difficult and ſo abſtruſe a queſtion; eſpecially "as the words *ought* and *right*, extend to any "kind of *right*, whether natural, i. e. by right "of blood, or acquired."

Anſwer. The teſt obliges the Catholics to no ſuch thing. All it requires is a negative belief, or a ſuſpence of belief, concerning the rights of foreign princes, *(and I do declare that I do not believe.)* The paragraph is worded in a negative ſtile. But in a negative oath, ignorance of another man's right exculpates the perſon who ſwears from perjury. A familiar example will ſet the matter in a clear light. Paul is in poſſeſſion of a farm from time immemorial; this poſſeſſion, and ſeveral other ſtrong reaſons incline me to believe, that he is the only rightful and lawful owner. Peter revives a dormant claim, which in my opinion is but a ſhadow. A magiſtrate interrogates me in this manner: *Do you believe that Peter ought to have a right to Paul's farm?* I anſwer, *I do declare that I do not believe it.* In the name of goodneſs, whatever Peter's title may be, do I perjure myſelf in ſwearing to what is really my opinion?

The word *right* is not mentioned in the oath,

betwixt natural and acquired would give him no advantage; for with regard to civil pre-eminence and juriſdiction over free ſtates, there is no *right* when the laws of nations are againſt it.

In France, the Salique law excludes females from inheriting the throne. Has the king's eldeſt daughter any right to it? In Portugal, where the crown is hereditary, the law diſqualifies every ſtranger who lays claim to the throne by right of blood. Have foreign princes, though related to the royal family, any *right* to *civil pre-eminence* within that realm?

Secondly: "The words, *ought to have*, ſeem "to have a retroſpect to the revolution, where-"by James II. was deprived of the throne, be-"cauſe he was a Roman Catholic: for ſome "members have affirmed, that no one could "take this oath, but on revolution-principles. "If this be ſo, I ſwear what is equivalent to this "—*The being a Roman Catholic is a juſt and rea-"ſonable diſqualification for not enjoying hereditary* "*right*. What Proteſtant in his ſenſes would "not think me perjured when I ſwear in this "manner."

Anſwer. Every Proteſtant, if ſuch were the meaning of the oath; but neither the ſenſe nor letter

letter of the oath is ſuſceptible of ſuch a forced conſtruction. The framers of the teſt have blended together an oath of allegiance, and the old declaration againſt Popery, compiled by James I. In this declaration, the words ran thus: "And I do declare, that I do not believe "that the pope of Rome, &c. hath or ought "to have * any authority, eccleſiaſtical or ſpi- "ritual, within this realm." By this declaration tranſlated into Engliſh, and ſtill to be ſeen in the ſtatutes, the Roman Catholics were obliged to renounce the pope's ſpiritual ſupremacy, otherwiſe they had nothing to expect but halters and gibbets from our *beloved* Stuarts. The Senators of 1775, more humane than the royal pedant of 1603, have expunged in favour of diſtreſſed ſubjects, the words *eccleſiaſtical* and *ſpiritual*, and ſubſtituted *temporal* and *civil* in their place. Thus have they enabled the Catholics, to teſtify their loyalty without ſwearing againſt their conſcience. The words "ought "to have," *have then no retroſpect to James* II. who deprived himſelf of the throne, by quitting the realm, after having *abdicated* the conſtitution, by arrogating to himſelf a diſpenſing power.

Thirdly: "Marriage is founded on a *civil* "contract, though of divine inſtitution, and

"a ſacrament in the belief of Catholics. In "denying the *pope's civil power directly or in-* "*directly within this realm*, ſo far at leaſt I deny "the church's authority over a ſacrament."

Anſwer. A flat ſophiſm! The pope has no civil power direct or indirect in this realm, over any ſacrament, but a ſpiritual power *ratione Sacramenti*, preciſely as a ſacrament, and ſo far it is a ſpiritual thing. In virtue of my ordination, I have power to conſecrate bread and wine, have I any *civil power* over the baker's ſhop, or the vintner's cellar?

Fourthly: "I ſwear that I do not think that I "can be abſolved of this declaration, or any "part thereof, although any authority what- "ſoever ſhall diſpenſe with or annual the ſame. "Now, *authority whatſoever* is of univerſal im- "port. It includes the ſupreme authority of "the ſtate, the authority of God himſelf. Can "a Catholic or Proteſtant ſwear that neither "God, nor the ſtate can abſolve him of any "part of this declaration? whereas God can de- "prive a tyrannical king of his throne, and the "ſupreme authority of the ſtate can abſolve a "ſubject from his allegiance, and permit him to "retire to whatever place he chuſes, as a maſter "can manumit a ſlave."

Anſwer,

Anſwer. By "authority whatſoever," is not meant the authority of God, nor the ſupreme authority of the ſtate, but the authority of Rome, or foreign authority.

Fifthly. "The oath is to be taken in the *plain* "*and ordinary ſenſe of the words. Authority what-* "*ſoever*, in the plain and ordinary ſenſe of the "words, includes the authority of God and the "ſtate."

Anſwer. The plain and ordinary ſenſe of any word, is the ſenſe annexed to it, by the common conſent and cuſtom of mankind, according to their reſpective idioms and languages: but, in any legal act, mankind never extends the words "authority whatſoever" to the authority of God, who is above the control of human laws, nor to the ſupreme authority of the ſtate, which is never preſumed to bind its own hands, whereas it is an invariable maxim in human laws, that the ſame power which enacts them, can repeal and diſpenſe with them. "Per "quaſcunque cauſes res naſcitur, per eaſdem "ſolvitur."

Sixthly: "The oath forbids *mental reſerva-* "*tions* on pain of perjury. Now mental reſer- "vation is a propoſition which taken accord-

"falſe; ſuch is this propoſition, *I declare that* "*no authority whatſoever can diſpenſe with any* "*part of this oath*; according to the natural "import of the terms, it is falſe, becauſe God "and the ſtate can diſpenſe with a part of it: "but if qualified by ſomething concealed "in the mind, (*v. g. except God or the ſtate*) it "becomes true. In that very propoſition, "there is a mental reſervation, the great re- "fuge of religious hypocrites, who accommo- "date their conſciences with their intereſts."

Anſwer. The definition is juſt, but proves nothing. For reſervations were introduced in order to deceive the perſon to whom we ſwear. But the magiſtrates, in whoſe preſence we take the oath, know that by *authority whatſoever*, is not meant the authority of God, nor that of the ſtate.

Seventhly: "The laſt paragraph of the teſt, "tends to contradict an eſtabliſhed doctrine of "the Catholic church, which is, that in the "church there is veſted a power of examining "into the nature of oaths, (which are acts of "religion) and of determining whether they "be, or be not lawful."

Anſwer. The teſt does not deprive the church of the power of examining into the lawfulneſs oaths. The laſt paragraph is entirely levelled

levelled againſt the diſpenſing power: the right of examination is quite out of the queſtion. *Without thinking that I can be acquitted of this declaration, &c.*

Eighthly. "A fundamental article of the Catholic faith, is the infallibility of the church. "This article is reverſed by theſe words *without thinking that I am or can be acquitted of any "part of this declaration, although the pope or "any authority whatſoever, ſhall declare that it "was null and void from the beginning.* In fine, "in taking the oath, a Catholic muſt reaſon in "this manner. It is an article of my faith, that "the church is infallible, the pillar of truth, "ſays St. Paul, which the powers of hell can "never overthrow, according to the promiſe of "Chriſt. Now ſhould the church *declare*, that "this oath is null and void from the beginning, I bind myſelf by oath not to believe "her. Is this conſiſtent with the principles of "a Catholic? To believe that the church is "an infallible guide, and to bind himſelf by a "ſolemn oath not to believe her although ſhe "ſhould define contrary to his opinion!"

Anſwer. A Catholic ſhould ſooner expire on the wheel, than take an oath implying an abjuration of any point of his religion. We have

ſake, we expect a better. We know that life is ſhort, that the Chriſtian is condemned to the croſs, and that the pampered tyrant, as well as the oppreſſed ſlave, muſt appear naked at the awful tribunal of Jeſus Chriſt.

We are not to court the favours of government at the expence of conſcience neither does the oath impoſe ſuch a rigorous condition.

The words, "without thinking that I am or "can be acquitted of this declaration, although "the pope, or any authority whatſoever, ſhall "declare that it was null and void from the "beginning"— theſe words, I ſay, mean no more than that you are convinced of the truth of what you ſwear; and that, in caſe of a diſpenſation you think yourſelf ſtill bound to keep your oath. For the words, "acquitted, "abſolved," regard the diſpenſing power. Now that the doctrines mentioned in the declaration, are not our real principles, has been ſufficiently proved; and reaſon, as well as religion, informs us, that a diſpenſation granted againſt the law of God, or good morals, "cannot acquit or abſolve us before God and man." "It is not a faithful diſpenſation," ſays St. Bernard, "but a cruel diſſipation." "Non fidelis diſpenſatio, ſed crudelis diſſipatio."*

* De Diſpenſatione et Præcepto.

Ninthly:

Ninthly: "Let us ſuppoſe that the church "*ſhall declare the oath null and void from the be-*"*ginning*, you bind yourſelf by oath not to "believe her; and thus renounce your religion "under cover of loyalty."

Anſwer. I do not bind myſelf by oath not to believe the church in her doctrinal deciſions: I only ſwear that "I do not think myſelf ac-"quitted or abſolved" of my obligations, by a diſpenſation granted by the pope, &c. The laſt paragraph, as I remarked before, is entirely levelled againſt the diſpenſing power.

Our legiſlators know, that the infallibility of the church is a tenet of Roman Catholics. By the very preamble of the act, they enable us to give public aſſurances of our allegiance, without prejudice to our real principles. In ſwearing that "I do not think myſelf acquitted of this "declaration, although the pope or any au-"thority whatſoever, ſhall declare that it was "null and void from the beginning," I do not mean to deny the infallibility of the church, nor the authority of God, nor even the ſupreme authority of the ſtate: and the magiſtrate, in whoſe preſence I ſwear, knows that it is not my intention. As there is no deſign on one

the ſeverity of the letter ſeems to import one, or the other, or both. Oaths and laws are liable to interpretations; and one general rule prevails all over the world, viz. "That a greater "ſtreſs is to be laid on the ſenſe, than on the "words." "It is not to be doubted," ſays the emperor Juſtinian, "but that he acts contrary "to the law, who, confining himſelf to the letter, acts contrary to the ſpirit and intent of "it: and whoever, to excuſe himſelf, endeavours fradulently to elude the true ſenſe of "a law, by a rigorous attachment to the words "of it, ſhall not eſcape its penalties by ſuch "prevarication." "Non dubium eſt in lege "committere eum, qui verba legis amplexus, "contra legis nititur voluntatem: nec pœnas "inſertas legibus evitabit, qui ſe contra juris "ſententiam fæva prærogativa verborum fraudulenter excuſat."

"Whoever ſwears, muſt do it according to "the intention of him to whom he ſwears, let "the mode and form of the expreſſions be "what they will," ſays St. Iſidorus. "Quacumque arte verborum quiſque juret, Deus "tamen, qui conſcientiæ teſtis eſt, ita hoc accipit, ſicut ille, cui juratur, intelligit." * Far from renouncing the infallibility of the church, which is neither the purport of the oath, nor the

* Iſidorus apud Gratianum, 22. 9. 5. c. 9.

the deſign of a Catholic who takes it, I am convinced that the unerring ſpirit that guides her, will never permit her to define as an article of faith, any propoſition rejected in the teſt, or ſanctify any doctrine againſt the inſtitution of Chriſt.

Faith is founded on revelation: and the church can never make a new article of faith. She can only declare what has been revealed, to prevent the chaff of human opinions from mixing with the pure grain of the evangelical doctrine.

Suppoſing that faith is founded on revelation, and that, as the biſhop of Meaux remarks, after Chriſt there is no new revelation, for in him is the plentitude,—the Catholics reſt ſecure that it is out of the church's power, to declare that their oath is null and void: as it is out of her power to declare, that fraud, murder, and perjury are lawful. This ſhall appear by analyzing the oath.

Firſt: "Has God revealed that I am not to "bear true allegiance to George III. or to re- "nounce any allegiance to the pretender? If "he has revealed it, pope Clement XIII. died "an heretic: he baniſhed an Iriſh ſuperior for

Secondly: "Has God revealed, that I can "lawfully and *piouſly* murder my fellow-crea- "ture, and break a juſt promiſe, or refuſe pay- "ing what I owe him, becauſe he is of a differ- "ent religion?"

Thirdly: "Has God revealed that I am *to be-* "*lieve* that popes and foreign princes ought to "have any civil authority within this realm?"

Fourthly: "Has God revealed, that kings can "be depoſed and murdered by their ſubjects, "becauſe they are excommunicated by the "pope and council?"

There is the whole ſubſtance of the oath: and as God has not revealed any of thoſe aſ- ſertions, but commanded the reverſe, the church can never declare them as articles of faith. Did St. Paul mean to renounce the *au- thority* of Heaven, when he ſaid, "Should an "angel from Heaven preach another doctrine, "*do not* believe him?" Does a Catholic re- "nounce *the authority* of the church, in not thinking that ſhe can allow perjury? But if ſuch be the caſe, you will aſk me, "why ſome "people have written againſt this oath?" or, "why the ſmall number of Catholics have not "united with the great number who have "taken it?"

I can aſſure you, ſir, that the Catholics who have not taken the oath, look on the depoſing power as a dream; the murder of heretics as an impious ſlander, calculated in times of turbulence, to *murder* the character of the innocent, and only adapted to thoſe diſtant æras, when "Papiſts attempted to blow up a river, with gun-powder, in order to drown a city."* In fine, they are ready to ſwear allegiance to George the third, and renounce any allegiance to the Stuarts.

But the chief exception to the oath is—the manner in which it is worded. It muſt be taken in "the plain and ordinary ſenſe of the "words." This cannot be reconciled with "authority whatſoever." A Catholic *abjures* upon oath a doctrine he never believed. *Abjuration* implies the belief of a previous error. "Foreign princes ought not have," &c. How can ſubjects know? or what is it to them? "Without any diſpenſation already granted." You ſuppoſe then that we have a diſpenſation to perjure ourſelves; conſequently it is nugatory to ſwear, when you are enabled not believe us. It is too dangerous to ſport with the awful name of the Divinity: and if a free-thinker reverenced the Supreme Being, his conſcience would be *ſcrewed* in taking an oath

which minces a ſyllable, and requires a long commentary. Further: Every invader, every uſurper, would avail himſelf of a ſimilar oath. In Ireland, he would find it framed to his hand, and make us ſwear "that George the "third ought to have no authority within "this realm," though the lawful king would be at the ſame time aſſerting his right in England. The alternative would be—death or perjury.

Such are the exceptions of the few who have not taken the oath: exceptions not to be diſregarded by thoſe, with whom they may have any weight. For an oath is dreadful in itſelf: and we can never act againſt the dictates of an erroneous conſcience, till our ſcruples are removed. "Quod non eſt ex fide, pec-"catum eſt.

Here below "we ſee in a glaſs darkly," ſays St. Paul. Providence has thrown a ſable veil over the human intellect. The ſcripture itſelf, this law of ſpirit and life, propoſed as a rule to the learned and ignorant, is become the ſubject of diſputes and controverſies. All legal acts are liable to inconveniencies. It is impoſſible for the legiſlators who deviſe them, to read in the minds of other men, the doubts which may ariſe concerning the ſenſe and force of ſome expreſ-

ſions. Hence, new acts to explain and amend former laws.

Should the wiſdom of the legiſlative powers deign to reduce the oath to a few plain words, whereby we ſhould ſwear allegiance to his majeſty,—renounce any to the Stuarts,—ſwear never to maintain nor abet any doctrine inconſiſtent with the rights of ſovereigns, the ſecurity of our fellow-ſubjects, nor ever to accept of any diſpenſation to the contrary,—all the ends of government would be fully anſwered, and the few ſcrupulous Catholics, who caval about words, would join the great numbers who have proceeded upon more enlarged and liberal principles.

Should our neighbours doubt the delicacy of our conſciences, when we ſwear, we have no argument to convince them, but the following.

We groan under the yoke of miſery and oppreſſion, throughout the long and trying periods of ſix ſucceſſive reigns. We ſuffer for crimes we have never committed. The puniſhment, which according to all laws ſhould finiſh with the delinquent, is entailed on the innocent poſterity to the fourth and fifth generation, by a

bodies. The laws which in other countries are the reſource and protection of the errant pilgrim, are here the mortal enemies of the ſettled natives. Theſe abortives of the Stuart race reign uncontrouled a long time after the death of their inauſpicious progenitors. On every part they ſpread penal bitterneſſes, with an unwearied hand; deal out tranſportation to the clergy; poverty and diſtreſs to the laity. They continually hang as ſo many ſwords, over our heads. The lenity of the magiſtrates, with the humanity of our Proteſtant neighbours, are the only clouds that intercept the ſcorching influence of thoſe blazing comets, kindled in times of turbulence and confuſion. Were it a principle of our religion to pay no regard to the dictates of conſcience,—were our paſtors and clergy ſuch as they are deſcribed, "people who diſpenſe with "every law of God and man, who ſanctify re- "bellion and murder, and even change the very "nature and eſſential differences of vice and "virtue."* Were we people of this kind, the penal reſtraints would be ſoon removed. One verbal recantation of Popery, backed with a falſe oath, would diſſolve our chains. In three weeks you would ſee all the Catholics at church, and their clergy along with them. Licenſed guilt would

* Leland, b. 5. ch. 3.

would ſoon kick in wantonneſs, where ſtarving innocence ſhivers without a covering. A remedy neglected from motives of conſcience, is a proof of the patient's integrity. Our ſufferings and perſeverance plead aloud in favour of our abhorrence and deteſtation of perjury: and though our Proteſtant neighbours, may laugh at the ſeeming errors of our minds, yet they will do juſtice to the integrity of our hearts.

Now, as in the primitive ages of the church, it is our principle and duty to pray for our kings, "that God would be pleaſed to grant them a "long life, and a quiet reign; that their family "may be ſafe, and their forces valiant; their "ſenate lawful, their people orderly and virtu-"ous; that they may rule in peace, and have "all the bleſſings they can deſire, either as men "or princes." *

I have the honour to remain,

Sir, your moſt humble,

and obedient Servant,

ARTHUR O'LEARY.

AN

ADDRESS

TO THE

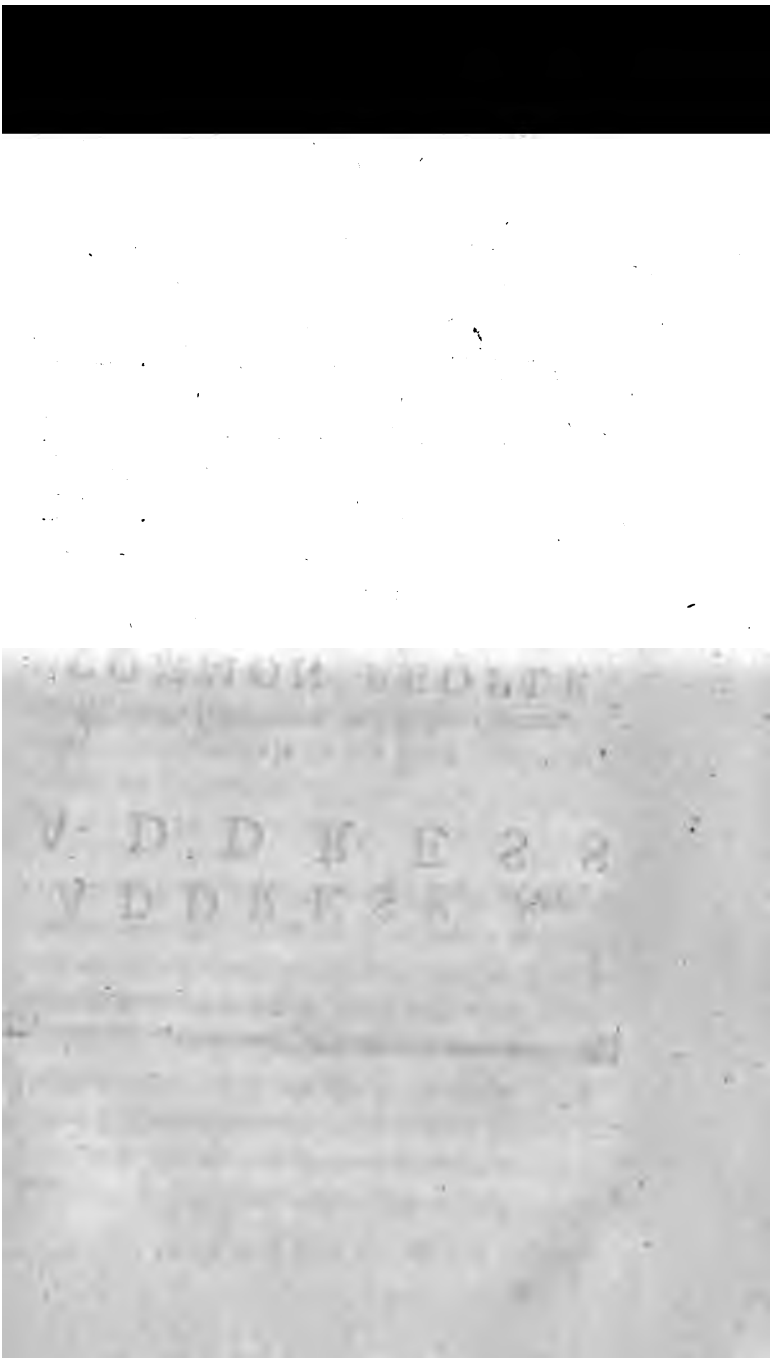
COMMON PEOPLE

OF THE

ROMAN CATHOLIC RELIGION,

CONCERNING THE APPREHENDED

FRENCH INVASION.



A N

ADDRESS, &c.

Brethren, Countrymen, and Fellow-Citizens,

RELIGION has always conſidered war as one of the ſcourges of Heaven, and the ſource of numberleſs ſcourges and crimes. Men may arm their hands in defence of life and property; but their hearts ſhudder at the thoughts of a field of battle which can ſcarce afford graves to the armies that diſpute it, covered with the mangled bodies and ſcattered limbs of thouſands of Chriſtians, who never ſaw nor provoked each other before; and whoſe only fault was obedience to their princes! which obedience cannot be imputed to the ſoldier as a crime. The peaceful cottage deſerted at the ſight of an approaching enemy! Famine and

diſtreſs

diſtreſs cloſing the ſcene, and filling up the meaſure of calamities! Such are the misfortunes inſeparable from war,—misfortunes which induced the great St. Paul to exhort the Chriſtians in the following manner: "I exhort, there-"fore, that, firſt of all, ſupplications, prayers, "interceſſions be made for all men, for kings, "and all that are in authority; that we may "lead a quiet and peaceable life, in all godlineſs "and honeſty." * And ſuch ſhould be the conſtant prayer of a Chriſtian.

But what, my brethren, if the enemy's ſword glittered in our ſtreets, and that to the licentiouſneſs of a foreign foe we added domeſtic diſſenſions! If the ſound of the enemy's trumpet would be drowned in the cries and ſhrieks of the injured neighbour whom we ourſelves would be the firſt to oppreſs! Would not war itſelf loſe its terrors, when compared to ſuch outrages? And the calamities we would bring on ourſelves, would not they ſurpaſs thoſe which would pour in upon us from foreign nations? Such, nevertheleſs, are the fears that haunt us. Both Proteſtants and Catholics declare, that in caſe of an invaſion, the common people are the greateſt cauſe of their alarms; not from dread of your ſuperior power, but from the ſad ne-

whom they are willing to protect, and the general confuſion that would diſturb the peace and tranquillity of the rich, and draw down inevitable deſtruction on the poor. For in ſuch an unfortunate juncture, every Catholic poſſeſſed of a feather bed, and commodious habitation, would join his proteſtant neighbour in their mutual defence. The aggregate body of them would not be a match for regular forces, yet they would be an over-match for *you*. They would unite in one common cauſe; you would be divided amongſt yourſelves, expoſed to each other's encroachments, and overpowered by all parties.

Such, my brethren, would be your ſituation, ſhould you be unhappy enough to ſtrike from the path of a peaceable and Chriſtian conduct. Forbid it Heaven, that it ſhould be ever your caſe! I conceive better hopes of you. Your unſhaken loyalty under the moſt trying circumſtances—the calm and quietneſs that reigned in your peaceful huts ſcattered up and down the extenſive counties of Cork and Kerry, where the Catholics are poor and numerous, whilſt other parts of the kingdom were infeſted with *Houghers*, *White Boys*, *Hearts of Oak* and *Steel*, and alarmed at the continual ſight of judges, chains and gibbets—the quiet and peaceable manner in which you behaved on a late occaſion,

ſion, when you imagined the enemy at your doors; all theſe circumſtances are pledges of your loyalty and good conduct, and happy omens of your ſteady perſeverance in the ſame line.

Your biſhops and clergy have enforced the doctrine of peace, ſubordination, and loyalty from the ſacred altars, where the leaſt lie would be a ſacrilege, and crime of the firſt magnitude. The Catholic gentlemen have ſet forth the example to you. Both have bound themſelves to king and government, by the moſt ſacred ties. They have ſouls to be ſaved, and would be ſorry to loſe them by wilful perjury: they who would be on a level with their Proteſtant neighbours, if they took but the qualification-oath againſt the conviction of their conſciences.

But the doctrine and example of the learned, prudent, and better ſort of your profeſſion, ſhould be the only rule of your conduct: for in all countries, the generality of the common people are ill qualified to judge or determine for themſelves. They are eaſily governed by the ſenſes; hurried by their paſſions; and miſled by a wild and extravagant fancy that intrudes itſelf into the province of Reaſon.

Far be it from me to ſuſpect you for any de-

nation, or to commit, in time of war, a robbery which you would deteſt in time of peace. Is the crime leſs heinous, becauſe it is committed againſt a neighbour, who is doubly miſerable from the terrors of a foreign foe, and the outrageous aſſaults of a treacherous fellow-ſubject?

When the ſoldiers aſked St. John the Baptiſt, what they ſhould do? He deſired them, "to "do violence to no man; not to accuſe any "one falſely; and to be content with their "wages."* Hence all divines are agreed, that the empire of juſtice is ſo extenſive, that war itſelf muſt acknowledge its authority. Kings, in declaring war, make a ſolemn appeal to the tribunal of Heaven, for the juſtice of their cauſe. The ſoldier cannot, in conſequence, plunder or oppreſs the merchant or huſbandman in his enemy's country: he muſt ſtrictly abide by the orders of his commander. If juſtice, then, in certain circumſtances, muſt ſheath the enemy's ſword, how much more forcibly muſt it not reſtrain the citizen's hand from invading what he cannot enjoy without guilt here, and puniſhment hereafter?—A puniſhment the more to be dreaded, as perhaps there would be no time for reſtitution and repentance!—Indiſpenſible obligations, to which every robber is liable, and without which he has no mercy to expect. But if a robbery committed on a private man, deſerve

* St. Luke, chap. VIII.

ſerve death and damnation, what muſt not be the guilt of thoſe who would flock to the enemy's ſtandard, to the total overthrow and deſtruction of an entire kingdom? It would be vain to plead the hardſhips you ſuffer; the proſpect of being reinſtated in the lands of which your anceſtors have been deprived in times of general confuſion; a more free and unlimited exerciſe of your religion; in fine, the laſt argument of a deſperate man, "If they "come, I have nothing to loſe." Thoſe reaſons I have not heard from yourſelves: I have read them with ſurpriſe in ſpeeches and eſſays againſt the repeal of the penal laws; and I hope in God, that your conduct ſhall for ever contradict them.

When an enemy lands in a country, every perſon has ſomething to loſe. The labourer who refreſhes his weary limbs with balmy ſleep, and for whoſe ſoft ſlumbers the gouty rich man would exchange his bed of down, would loſe his reſt from continual fears and apprehenſions. When public works would be diſcontinued, and tradeſmen diſmiſſed by their employers, carpenters, maſons, ſlaters, &c. would loſe their hire. It would not be with a view to feed an hungry Iriſhman, that a number of

off his calf or pig, and to kill himſelf if he reſiſted. Whatever diſtinction the laws of this unhappy kingdom may make between Proteſtant and Papiſt, a conqueror's ſword makes none. War levels and confounds all religions, where their profeſſors are ſubjects of a monarch whoſe kingdom is invaded.

When the French joined the Americans, it was not from love for the Preſbyterian religion. If they landed here, it would not be with a deſign to promote the Catholic cauſe. When Oliver Cromwell beheaded Charles the firſt, brother-in-law to the king of France, and iſſued a bloody decree, whereby all the Engliſh Catholics were commanded to quit the kingdom in the ſpace of two months, the French, far from reſenting the injury offered to the blood-royal and to the Catholic religion, ſided Cromwell againſt Spain: and ordered the dutcheſs of Savoy to promote and protect her Proteſtant ſubjects, whilſt the Engliſh Catholics were ſmarting under the ſcourge of perſecution, and threatened with total extermination.*

Thus all religions are alike to a political people, whoſe only aim is intereſt and conqueſt. Hence, in France, Proteſtants of all denominations are promoted in the army. Proteſtant generals command her forces. The order of Military

* Leti's Life of Cromwell.

tary Merit is inſtituted for Proteſtant officers. It is equal to them whether a ſoldier prays or curſes,—whether he handles a bead or a prayer book,—provided he can manage a ſword and a gun. And if thirty thouſand men, under the denomination of French troops, landed in Ireland, fifteen thouſand Proteſtants, from France, Germany, Switzerland, &c. would make up half the number.

Neither are you to confide in their promiſe of protection. The moſt part of yourſelves can remember, that in the war of ſeventeen hundred and forty-five, they prevailed on the Pretender to invade Scotland. This adventurer, after ſuffering more hardſhips than any romantic hero we read of, no ſooner returned from this chimerical expedition to Paris, than, at the ſolicitation of the Engliſh ambaſſador, he was forced to leave the kingdom of France. He died, about two months ſince, without iſſue;* and by his death has rid the kingdom of all fears ariſing from the pretenſions of a family that commenced our deſtruction, and completed our ruin. Of this I think fit to inform you, as, in all likelihood, if the French landed here, ſome might give out, that he was in their camp, in order to deceive you by an impoſture that

would end in your deſtruction. For all thoſe who would join the French, would be ſtrung up after the war, and give occaſion of charging the whole body of the Roman Catholics with the treachery of ſome of its rotten members. Or what protection could you expect from people who would ſacrifice the ties of kindred and friendſhip for the good of their ſtate?

Expect then nothing from the French on the ſcore of religion, but remain peaceably in your cottages. Mind your buſineſs as uſual, and be free from all groundleſs apprehenſions. Work for thoſe who employ you: for it is againſt the laws of war to moleſt or hurt any but ſuch as oppoſe the enemy, ſword in hand: and the world muſt allow that the French are not ſtrangers to the laws of war, or the rules of military diſcipline. The ſoldier himſelf in the rage of ſlaughter, feels the impulſe of humanity. He is bound to ſpare the ſupplicant who cries out for quarter, and to protect the town or city that ſurrenders for want of power to reſiſt. Secure your lives, which run the riſk of being loſt by the ſword in fighting for the foe, or by the rope if you chanced to eſcape the danger of the field: but above all, ſave your ſouls, which would be loſt without reſource: for among the crimes that exclude from the kingdom of Heaven, St. Paul reckons "ſedition:" and what

greater ſedition than to riſe up againſt your king and country, and to defile your hands with the blood of your fellow-ſubjects.

Should the king and parliament adopt the policy of France, that rewards the ſoldier's valour, and leaves his religion to God,—ſhould they enter on the liberal plan of the Proteſtant powers of the continent, who level the fences, and make no diſtinction between religious parties,—ſhould the Catholic gentry, deſcended in a long line from warlike chieftains, and animated with the ſame courage and magnanimity that crowned with laurels their relations and nameſakes on the banks of the Rhine, the walls of Cremona, in the fields of Germany, and the plains of Fontenoy; where hands diſqualified from uſing a gun in defence of their native country, have conquered cities and provinces for foreign kings,—ſhould the Catholic gentry, I ſay be empowered by parliament to join their Proteſtant neighbours, and preſs to the ſtandard of their country, at the head of a ſpirited and active race of men, preſerved by labour from the weakneſs of indolence, enured by habit to the rigours of manly exerciſe, and, like the Spartan youth, already half diſciplined from the very nature of their ſports and diverſions,——then join the banners of your coun-

you die, you die with honour and a pure conſcience. The death of a plunderer and rebel is infamy and reprobation.

I repeat it—you have nothing to expect from the French. Ireland they will never keep; or if they kept it, is it a reaſon that you ſhould forfeit ſoul and conſcience by plunder, treachery, and rebellion? St. Paul lays it down for a rule, that "the damnation of thoſe is juſt "who do evil that good may come."* What muſt not be the damnation of thoſe who do evil for the ſake of miſchief? And Chriſt declares, that "it availeth a man nothing, if he gain the "whole world and loſe his ſoul."

But by the coming of the French, your gain would fall ſhort of your expectations, if any amongſt you would be mad enough to entertain any expectations of the kind. When the French take a Roman Catholic captain, do they ever return him back his ſhip or reſtore him his liberty, in compliment to his religion? Are we to expect more from them by land, than by ſea? If then in compliment to the Catholic religion, they would not return a fiſhing-boat to our diſtreſſed families, who would imagine they would give us all the eſtates in the kingdom? Or is it becauſe theſe eſtates belonged in remote times to our anceſtors, that we could in conſcience

* Romans, chap. iii.

diſpoſſeſs the preſent owners, were it even in our power? The remains of old caſtles, formerly the ſeats of hoſpitality,—and the territories which ſtill bear our names,—may remind us of our origin, and inſpire us with ſpirited ſentiments, to which the lower claſs of people in other countries are entire ſtrangers, and which a wiſe government could improve to the advantage of the ſtate. Yet theſe memorials of ancient grandeur and family-importance, entitle us to no other pretenſions than that of ſcorning to do any thing baſe, vile, or treacherous.

We muſt imitate that deſcendant of the Sidonian kings, who, from extreme poverty, worked in a garden: being aſked by Alexander the Great, "How he ſupported poverty?" "Better," replied he, "than I could ſupport "grandeur. My hands ſupply my wants: and "I want nothing, when I deſire nothing." Pity, my brethren, that this man was not a Chriſtian! Or pity, that the Chriſtians do not reſemble this Heathen! The moſt flouriſhing empires have fallen with time: the world is in a continual change: and the Roman Catholics muſt ſhare the ſame fate with the reſt of mankind.

There is no reviving old claims in this or any

Our anceſtors have they ever encroached on their neighbours? On their firſt landing in this kingdom, have not they taken theſe eſtates from the Carthaginians, Firbolgs, and others who were ſettled here before them? If then the Proteſtants, who are now in poſſeſſion, gave them up, to whom would they give them? If they have no right to them, becauſe they belonged to our anceſtors,—our anceſtors had no right to them, becauſe they belonged to others. If a French general ſounded a trumpet, and deſired us to take our lands, would not there be a thouſand pretenders to every eſtate? Would not every one be eager for the beſt ſpot? And would not this ſpot fall to the ſhare of the ſtrongeſt, who would kill or overpower the weakeſt? I am aſhamed, my brethren, at your reading ſuch trifles in this paper. I ſhould never have mentioned them, had not I read ſuch a nonſenſical charge in the writings of ſome paltry ſcribblers, who, in order to keep our Proteſtant neighbours in perpetual dread of inoffenſive fellow-ſubjects, do not bluſh at an inſult offered to common ſenſe, and to the rights of mankind.

For, where property is once ſettled,—ſecured by the laws of any realm,—and confirmed by a long poſſeſſion,—there is no diſturbing the proprietor. It is the general conſent of nations, and the univerſal voice of mankind. By the Roman

Roman laws, thirty years poſſeſſion ſecures the poſſeſſor in the enjoyment of his property. Even in ſcripture we read, that, when a king of the Ammonites had challenged ſome lands which the Iſraelites had taken from his anceſtors, Jephtah, the ruler of God's people, amongſt other reaſons, pleads a long poſſeſſion: "While "Iſrael dwelt in Heſhbon, why therefore did ye "not recover them within that time?"* Thus, from the firſt eſtabliſhment of civil ſociety, a long poſſeſſion annihilates all claims. And by the ſame principles, every Proteſtant gentleman in Ireland, has as good a right to his eſtate, as any Mileſian had before him. For this I appeal to your conſciences. As you are to appear before God, if you cut corn in the field of a Proteſtant, or ſtole his hay, would not your confeſſor compel you to reſtitution? What right then ſhould you have to the land, where you would ſcruple to take the growth of it? Far then from giving you eſtates, the French could not, by the laws of war and the principles of conqueſt, univerſally agreed on by civilized nations, take a foot of ground from any perſon in the kingdom, for their own uſe; much leſs for yours. If the nation ſhould be unable to make head againſt them,—and that the chief men of the

leſs they will, if they have not ſuperior forces to oppoſe them)—they neither will nor can require any more than the allegiance of the inhabitants, the ſame rates, taxes, and government-ſupport, that were granted to the king of England. The natives will be ſecured in the free exerciſe of their religion, the full enjoyment of their property, their laws, and privileges. This is always done. The reverſe would be an open violation of the laws of nations, which are binding on the very conquerors; and which, according to the preſent ſyſtem, they ſtrictly obſerve.

Thus, the common people are never intereſted in the change of government. They may change their maſters: but they will not change their burden. The rich will be ſtill rich. The poor will be poor. In France, they have poor of all trades and profeſſions: it will be the ſame here. But you will tell me, "that at leaſt you "will have the free exerciſe of your religion." Pray, my brethren, do not your Proteſtant neighbours grant you the free exerciſe of your religion? Would they not eſteem you the more, in proportion as you would live up to its maxims? Even the worthy, learned, and charitable Dr. Mann, the Proteſtant biſhop, at the head of an aſſembly of his clergy, recommended benevolence and moderation towards the Roman Catholics.

Catholics. The ſame doctrine has been preached not long ago from the Proteſtant pulpit. Thus, it is the glory of our days, to ſee the unhappy ſpirit of perſecution dying away, and Chriſtian charity ſucceeding the intemperate zeal and unchriſtian ſuperſtition which, for many years, had diſgraced religion, and diſhonoured humanity.

Bells, ſteeples, and churches richly ornamented, contribute to the outward pomp and ſolemnity of worſhip: but an upright heart and pure conſcience are the temples in which the Divinity delights. We would fain worſhip God our own way. Doubtleſs. But are we to worſhip him againſt his will? In lighting up the ſacred fire, are we to burn the houſe of God? Saul, king of Iſrael, intended to worſhip God, in offering up a ſacrifice. The Lord rejected him, becauſe he offered it up againſt the law. His intention was good; but the action criminal. Thus, the Lord would reject you, if, under pretence of a more free worſhip, you flocked to the ſtandard of an enemy; roſe up in rebellion againſt lawful authority; plundered your neighbour; and imbrued your hands in the blood of your fellow-ſubjects.

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the religion of governors. Thouſands of Catholics loſe their ſouls in France and Italy, after leading a looſe and diſſolute life: thouſands of them work their ſalvation in the Proteſtant ſtates of Holland and Germany. It is then equal to man, what religion his neighbour or king be of, provided his own conſcience be pure, and his life upright.

The Pruſſian, Dutch, and Hanoverian Catholics live under Proteſtant governments, and join their ſovereigns againſt Catholic powers. Their religion is the ſame with yours. And this religion enforces obedience to the king and magiſtrates under whom we live. Chriſt commanded tribute to be paid to an heathen prince, and acknowledged the temporal power of an heathen magiſtrate, who pronounced ſentence of death againſt him.

Nero, ſovereign of the world, rips open his mother's womb, and begins the firſt bloody perſecution againſt the Chriſtians: ſeventeen thouſand of whom were ſlaughtered in one month; and their bodies, daubed over with pitch and tar, hung up to give light to the city. St. Paul, dreading that ſuch horrid uſage would force them to overturn the ſtate, and join the enemies of the empire, writes to them in the following manner: "Let every man be ſubject to

"the

"the higher powers: and they that reſiſt re-
"ceive unto themſelves damnation." * A ſtrong conviction then that, in obeying our rulers, we obey God, (who leaves no virtue unrewarded, as he leaves no vice unpuniſhed) ſweetens the thoughts of ſubjection: and, under the hardeſt maſter, obedience is no longer a hardſhip to the true Chriſtian.

So great was the impreſſion made by this doctrine on the minds of the primitive Chriſtians,—ſo great was their love for public order,—that, although they filled the whole empire and all the armies, they never once flew out into any diſorder. Under all the cruelties that the rage of perſecutors could invent,—amidſt ſo many ſeditions and civil wars,—amidſt ſo many conſpiracies againſt the perſons of emperors,—not a ſeditious Chriſtian could be found.

We have the ſame motives to animate our conduct; the ſame incentives to piety, *godlineſs*, and *honeſty*; the ſame expectations that raiſe us above all earthly things, and put us beyond the reach of mortality. "For, here on earth," ſays St. Paul, "we have not a laſting city, but ex-
"pect a better." Let not public calamities, bloody wars, the ſcourges of Heaven, and the

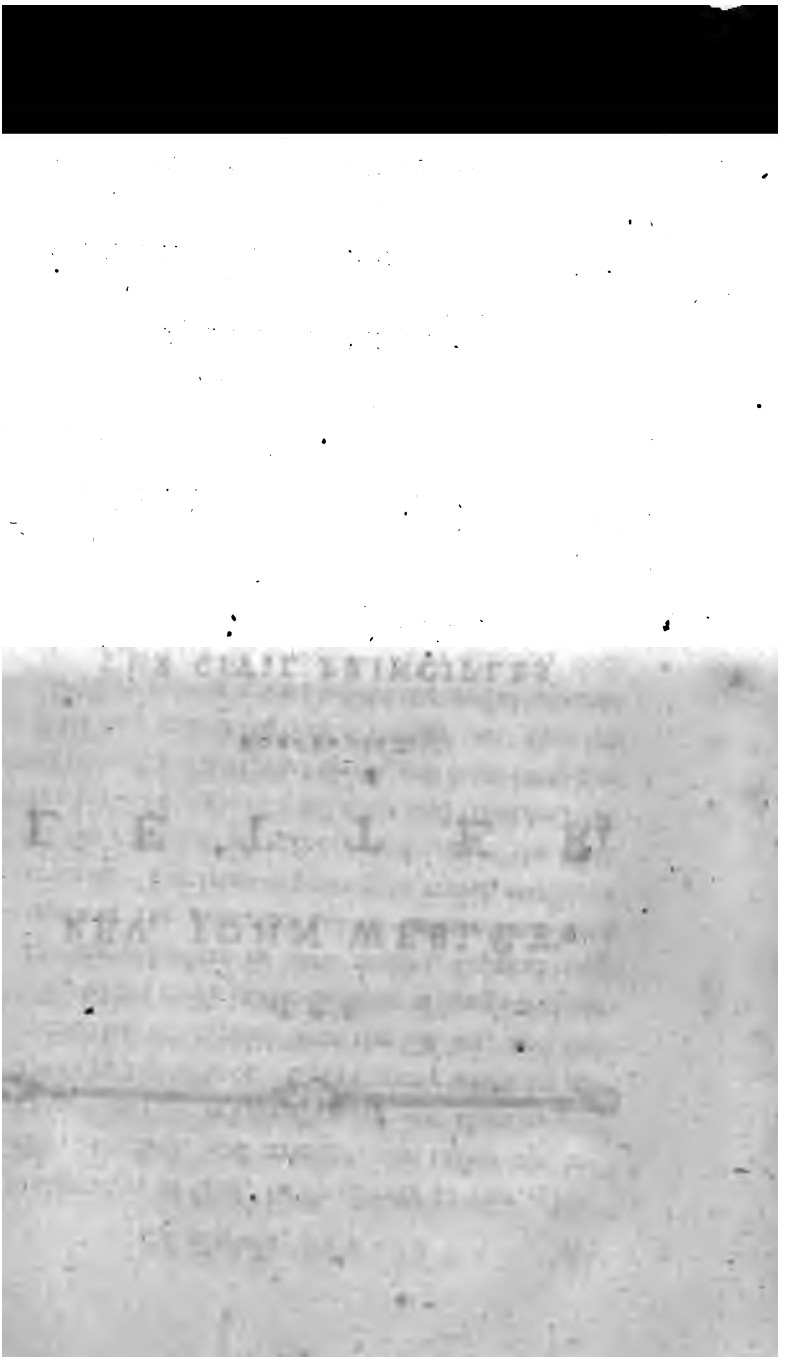
udgments of God, be incentives to vice, plunder, rebellion, and murder; but rather the occaſions of the reformation of our morals, and ſpurs to repentance. Let religion, which by patience has triumphed over the Cæſars, and diſplayed the croſs in the banners of kings without ſowing diſorders in their realms, ſupport itſelf without the accurſed aid of inſurrections and crimes. Far from expecting to enrich ourſelves at the expence of juſtice, and under the fatal ſhelter of clouds of confuſion and troubles, let us ſeriouſly reflect, that death will ſoon level the poor and rich in the duſt of the grave; that we are all to appear naked before the awful tribunal of Jeſus Chriſt, to account for our actions; and that it is by millions of times more preferable to partake of the happineſs of Lazarus, who was conveyed to Abraham's boſom, after a life of holineſs and poverty, than to be rich and wicked, and to ſhare the fate of that unhappy man who, dreſſed in purple, and after a life of eaſe and opulence, was refuſed a drop of water to allay his burning thirſt. In expectation that you will comply with the inſtructions of your biſhop and clergy, not only from dread of the laws, but moreover from the love and fear of God,

I remain, my dear brethren,

Your affectionate ſervant,

Cork, Aug. 14, 1779.

ARTHUR O'LEARY.



THE

REV. JOHN WESLEY's

LETTER,

CONCERNING

THE CIVIL PRINCIPLES

OF

ROMAN CATHOLICS.

ALSO,

A DEFENCE OF THE

PROTESTANT ASSOCIATION.

LETTER

FROM THE

REV. JOHN WESLEY, M.A.

TO THE PRINTER.

SIR,

SOME time ago, a pamphlet was ſent me, entitled, "An appeal from the Proteſtant Aſſo-"ciation to the people of Great Britain." A day or two ſince, a kind of anſwer to this, was put into my hand, which pronounces, "Its "ſtyle contemptible, its reaſoning futile, and "its object malicious." On the contrary, I think the ſtyle of it is clear, eaſy, and natural; the reaſoning, in general, ſtrong and concluſive; the object, or deſign, kind and benevolent. And, in purſuance of the ſame kind and benevolent deſign, namely, to preſerve our happy conſtitution, I ſhall endeavour to confirm the ſubſtance of that tract, by a few plain arguments.

With

With perſecution I have nothing to do: I perſecute no man for his religious principles. Let there be "as boundleſs a freedom in reli-"gion," as any man can conceive: but this does not touch the point. I will ſet religion, true or falſe, utterly out of the queſtion: ſuppoſe the Bible, if you pleaſe, to be a fable; and the Koran to be the word of God. I conſider not, whether the Romiſh religion be true or falſe: I build nothing on one or the other ſuppoſition: therefore, away with all your common-place declamations about intolerance and perſecution for religion! Suppoſe every word of pope Pius's creed to be true,—ſuppoſe the council of Trent to have been infallible,—yet, I inſiſt upon it, That no government, not Roman catholic, ought to tolerate men of the Roman catholic perſuaſion.

I prove this by a plain argument: let him anſwer it that can:—

That no Roman catholic does or can give ſecurity for his allegiance or peaceable behaviour, I prove thus: It is a Roman catholic maxim, eſtabliſhed, not by private men, but by a public council, that, "No faith is to be "kept with heretics." This has been openly avowed by the council of Conſtance: but it

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maxim of the church of Rome: but as long as it is ſo, nothing can be more plain, than that the members of that church can give no reaſonable ſecurity to any government of their allegiance or peaceable behaviour: therefore, they ought not to be tolerated by any government, Proteſtant, Mahometan, or Pagan.

You may ſay, "Nay, but you will take an "oath of allegiance." True, five hundred oaths: but the maxim, "No faith is to be kept "with heretics," ſweeps them all away, as a ſpider's web: ſo that ſtill, no governors, that are not Roman catholics, can have any ſecurity of their allegiance.

Again, thoſe who acknowledge the ſpiritual power of the pope, can give no ſecurity of their allegiance to any government: but all Roman catholics acknowledge this; therefore, they can give no ſecurity for their allegiance.

The power of granting pardons for all ſins, paſt, preſent, and to come, is, and has been, for many centuries, one branch of his ſpiritual power; but thoſe who acknowledge him to have this ſpiritual power, can give no ſecurity for their allegiance; ſince they believe the pope can pardon rebellions, high treaſons, and all other ſins whatſoever.

The power of diſpenſing with any promiſe, oath, or vow, is another branch of the ſpiritual power of the pope; and all who acknowledge his ſpiritual power, muſt acknowledge this: but whoever acknowledges the diſpenſing power of the pope, can give no ſecurity of his allegiance to any government.

Oaths and promiſes are none: they are light as air: a diſpenſation makes them all null and void.

Nay, not only the pope, but even a prieſt, has power to pardon ſins! this is an eſſential doctrine of the church of Rome: but they that acknowledge this, cannot poſſibly give any ſecurity for their allegiance to any government. Oaths are no ſecurity at all; for the prieſt can pardon both perjury and high treaſon.

Setting, then, religion aſide, it is plain, that upon principles of reaſon, no government ought to tolerate men, who cannot give any ſecurity to that government for their allegiance and peaceable behaviour: but this no Romaniſt can do, not only while he holds, that "No "faith is to be kept with heretics," but ſo long as he acknowledges either prieſtly abſolution, or the ſpiritual power of the pope.

"But the late act," you ſay, "does not either tolerate or encourage Roman Catholics." I appeal to matter of fact. Do not the Romaniſts themſelves underſtand it as a toleration? You know they do. And does it not already, let alone what it may do by-and-by, encourage them to preach openly, to build chapels, at Bath and elſewhere, to raiſe ſeminaries, and to make numerous converts, day by day, to their intolerant, perſecuting principles? I can point out, if need be, ſeveral of the perſons: and they are increaſing daily.

But "Nothing dangerous to Engliſh liberty "is to be apprehended from them." I am not certain of that. Some time ſince a Romiſh prieſt came to one I knew, and after talking with her largely, broke out, "You are no he-"retic! You have the experience of a real "Chriſtian!" "And would you," ſhe aſked, "burn me alive?" He ſaid, "God forbid! "Unleſs it were for the good of the church."

Now what ſecurity could ſhe have for her life, if it had depended on that man? The good of the church would have burſt all the ties of truth, juſtice and mercy; eſpecially, when ſeconded by the abſolution of a prieſt, or, if need were, a papal pardon.

If any one pleaſe to anſwer this, and to ſet his name, I ſhall probably reply: but the productions of anonymous writers I do not promiſe to take any notice of.

I am, Sir,

Your humble Servant,

CITY ROAD,
JANUARY 12, 1780.

JOHN WESLEY.

A

DEFENCE

OF THE

PROTESTANT ASSOCIATION.

By J. W.

VARIOUS pieces, under different ſignatures, having appeared in the public prints, caſting unjuſt reflections on the Proteſtant Aſſociation, and tending to quiet the minds of the Proteſtants at the preſent alarming criſis, by inſinuating that there is no danger ariſing from the toleration of Popery, and that ſuch aſſociations are unneceſſary; I think it a piece of juſtice, which I owe to my countrymen, to give them a plain and true account of the views of this aſſembly, and lay before them the reaſons which induced them to form this Aſſociation, and determined them to continue it.

Whether the gentlemen, who have favoured the public with their remarks on this occaſion, are

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gleeting to appear on this great occaſion, they give our rulers reaſon to conclude, that it is the ſenſe of the nation that Popery ſhould be tolerated.

It is ſincerely to be lamented that Proteſtants in general, are not more apprehenſive of the danger. Have they forgot the reign of bloody queen Mary? Have they forgot the fires in Smithfield, and can they behold the place without emotion where their fathers died? Will it ever be believed in future times, that perſons of eminent and diſtinguiſhed rank among the Proteſtants, and perſons of high and exalted religious characters, refuſed to petition againſt Popery; and let it overſpread our nation without oppoſition? Will it be believed that Engliſhmen were ſo far degenerated from the noble ſpirit of their anceſtors, as tamely to bow the neck to the yoke of Rome? "Tell it not in "Gath, publiſh it not in the ſtreets of Aſkelon; "leſt the daughters of the Philiſtines rejoice; "leſt the daughters of the uncircumciſed "triumph."

It is not to be wondered at that the Papiſts, either openly or in diſguiſe, take every method to prevent the juſt and reaſonable view of the Proteſtant aſſociation, and therefore re-

mies to toleration. Theſe charges, and every other which the malice of our enemies, or the groundleſs fears and prejudices of our miſtaken friends ſhall hereafter exhibit, will be ſeparately and diſtinctly conſidered in the courſe of theſe letters; and ſuch an account given of the views of the Proteſtant Aſſociation, and the line of conduct which they have purſued, and intend to purſue, in order to accompliſh the great end for which they aſſociate, as will, I hope, obviate every objection, remove every ſcruple, and excite the Proteſtants to join hand in hand, and unite as one man, in that cauſe, in which their preſent and future welfare is ſo nearly concerned, by

J. W.

REMARKS

ON THE FOREGOING

LETTER AND DEFENCE.

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GENTLEMEN,

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In your paper, which has already made its way to the continent, on account of the late exertions of the Iriſh, and which ſhould contain nothing unworthy the nervous eloquence and liberal principles of your numerous and learned corre-

correſpondents, Mr. Weſley, in a ſyllogiſtical method, and the jargon of the ſchools, has arraigned the Catholics all over the world, with their kings and ſubjects, their prelates and doctors, as liars, perjurers, patentees of guilt and perjury, authorized by their prieſts to violate the ſacred rules of order and juſtice; and unworthy of being tolerated even by *Turks* and *Pagans* *. Such a charge carries with it, its own confutation. But are there not prejudiced people ſtill in the world? The nine ſkins of parchment, filled with the names of petitioners againſt the Engliſh Catholics, owe the variety of their ſignatures, to pulpit declamations and inflammatory pamphlets, teeming with Mr. Weſley's falſe aſſertions: and, to the diſgrace of the peerage, in this variety of ſignatures, is not the lord's hand-writing ſtretched near the ſcratch of the cobler's awl? For the parchment would be profaned, if the man who does not know how to write, made the ſign of the +.

I am a member of that communion which Mr. Weſley aſperſed in ſo cruel a manner. I diſclaimed upon oath, in preſence of judge Henn, the creed which Mr. Weſley attributes to me. I have been the firſt to unravel the intricacies of that very oath of allegiance

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cealed either poiſon or dagger to deſtroy my Proteſtant neighbour; though it was long enough to ſet all Scotland in a blaze, and to deprive lord G***** G***** of his *ſenſes*.

Should any of the Scotch miſſionaries attend Mr. Weſley into this kingdom, and bring with them any of the ſtumps of the fagots with which Henry the eighth, his daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, and the learned James the firſt, roaſted the heretics of their times in Smithfield, or ſome of the fagots with which the Scotch ſaints, of whoſe proceedings Mr. Weſley is become the apologiſt, have burnt the houſes of their inoffenſive Catholic neighbours, we will convert them to their proper uſe. In Ireland the revolution of the great Platonic year is almoſt completed. Things are re-inſtated in their primitive order. And the fagot, which, without any miſſion from Chriſt, preached the goſpel by orders of Catholic and Proteſtant kings, is confined to the kitchen. Thus, what formerly roaſted the man at the ſtake, now helps to feed him. And nothing but the ſeverity of winter, and the coldneſs of the climate in Scotland, could juſtify Mr. Weſley in urging the rabble to light it. This is a bad time to introduce it amongſt us, when we begin to be

ſaid, we never condemned but murderers and perpetrators of unnatural crimes to the fagot.

By a ſtatute of Henry the ſixth, every Engliſhman of the Pale* was bound to ſhave his upper lip, or clip his whiſkers, in order to diſtinguiſh himſelf from an Iriſhman. By this mark of diſtinction, it ſeems that what Campion calls in his old Engliſh, *glib*, and what we call the beard, as well as the complexion and ſize of both people, were much the ſame. In my opinion it had tended more to their mutual intereſt, and the glory of that monarch's reign, not to go to the nicety of *ſplitting a hair*, but encourage the growth of their *fleeces*, and inſpire them with ſuch mutual love for each other, as to induce them to kiſs one another's beards, as brothers ſalute each other at Conſtantinople, after a few days abſence. I am likewiſe of opinion, that Mr. Weſley, who prefaces his letter with, "The intereſt of the "Proteſtant religion," would reflect more honour on his miniſtry, in promoting the happineſs of the people, by preaching love and union, than in widening the breach, and increaſing their calamities by diviſion. The Engliſh and Iriſh were at that time of the ſame religion; but, divided in their affections, were miſerable.

* See the ſtatutes of that king, and lament the effects of diviſions fomented by ſovereigns.

Though divided in ſpeculative opinions, if united in ſentiment, we would be happy. The Engliſh ſettlers breathed the vital air in England, before they inhaled the ſoft breezes of our temperate climate. The preſent generation can ſay "Our fathers and grandfathers "have been born, bred, and buried here: we "are Iriſhmen, as the deſcendants of the Nor-"mans, who have been born in England, are "Engliſhmen."

Thus, born in an iſland in which the ancients might have placed their Heſperian gardens and golden apples, the temperature of the climate, and quality of the ſoil, *inimical* to *poiſonous inſects*, have cleanſed our veins from the *ſour* and *acid* blood of the Scythians and Saxons. We begin to open our eyes, and to learn wiſdom from the experience of ages: we are tender-hearted: we are good-natured: we have feelings: we ſhed tears on the urns of the dead; deplore the loſs of hecatombs of victims ſlaughtered on the gloomy altars of religious bigotry; cry in ſeeing the ruins of cities over which fanaticiſm has diſplayed the funeral torch, and ſincerely pity the blind zeal of our Scotch and Engliſh neighbours, whoſe conſtant character is to pity none, for erecting the banners of

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we never enquire into the butcher's religion, but into the quality of his meat: we care not whether the ox was fed in the pope's territories, or on the mountains of Scotland, provided the joint be good: for though there be many *hereſies* in old books, we diſcover neither *hereſy* nor *ſuperſtition* in beef and claret. We divide them cheerfully with one another, and though of different religions, we ſit over the bowl with as much cordiality as if we were at a *love-feaſt*.

The Proteſtant Aſſociations of Scotland and England may pity us; but we feel more comfort than if we were ſcorching one another with fire and fagot. Inſtead of ſinging "peace to "men of good will on earth," does Mr. Weſley intend to ſound the fury Alecto's horn, or the war-ſhell of the Mexicans? The Iriſh, who have no reſource but in their union, does he mean to arm them againſt each other? One maſſacre, to which the fanaticiſm of the Scotch and Engliſh regicides gave riſe, is more than enough: Mr. Weſley ſhould not ſow the ſeeds of a ſecond. When he felt the firſt-fruits and illapſes of the ſpirit,—when his zeal, too extenſive to be confined within the majeſtic temples of the church of England, or the edifying meeting-houſes of the other Chriſtains, prompted him to travel moſt parts of Europe and America, and to eſtabliſh a religion and houſes of worſhip of his own, what oppoſi-

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becomes the property of the perſon to whom it is beſtowed, if there be no legal diſqualification on either ſide. But the misfortune is, that the Catholics and the framers of the fictitious creed ſo often refuted, and ſtill forced on them, reſemble the Frenchman and the blunderer in the comedy; one forces into the other's mouth a food which he cannot reliſh, and againſt which his ſtomach revolts.

Mr. Weſley places in the front of his lines, the *general* council of Conſtance, places the pope in the centre, and brings up the rere of his ſquadrons with a confabulation between a prieſt and a woman, whilſt his letters are ſkirmiſhing on the *wings*. Let us march from the rere to the front, for *religious warriors ſeldom obſerve order*.

A prieſt then ſaid to a woman whom Mr. Weſley KNOWS, "I ſee you are no heretic: "you have the experience of a real Chriſtian." "And would you burn me?" ſaid ſhe. "God "forbid!" replied the prieſt, "except for the "good of the church." Now this prieſt muſt be deſcended from ſome of thoſe who attempted to blow up a river with gunpowder, in order to drown a city*. Or he muſt

[redacted]

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the world, had defined "violation of faith with "heretics," as an article of faith, and that I do not believe it, "violation," then, "of faith "with heretics," is no article of my belief. For, to form one's belief, it is not ſufficient to read a propoſition in a book. Interior conviction muſt captivate the mind. The Arian reads the Divinity of Chriſt in the New Teſtament, and ſtill denies it: would Mr. Weſley aſſert that the Divinity of Chriſt is an article of the Arian faith? If then "violation of faith with "heretics," be the *teſſera fidei*, the badge of the Roman Catholic religion, the Roman Catholics are all Proteſtants, and as well entitled to ſing their pſalms, as Mr. Weſley his canticles. I would not be one hour a member of any religion that would profeſs ſuch a creed as Mr. Weſley has ſent us from London.

You may, perhaps, be ſurprized, Gentlemen, that the introduction to a ſerious ſubject ſhould favour ſo little of the gloom and ſullenneſs ſo familiar to polemical writers; or, that the ludicrous and ſerious ſhould be ſo cloſely interwoven with each other.——

But, remark a ſet of men who tax the nobility, gentry, and head clergy of England with *degeneracy*, for not degrading the dignity of

veſtries, begging the ſignatures of every peaſant and mendicant, who comes to hear the goſpel: "Wrong no man; he that loves his "neighbour fulfils the law," &c. and thoſe pious ſouls "pained and trembling for the ark "of God," running with the fagot to kindle the flames of ſedition, and to oppreſs their neighbours. Remark, in ſeventeen hundred and eighty, a lord with his hair cropped, a bible in his hand, turned elder and high-prieſt at the age of *twenty-three*, and fainting for the ARK OF ISRAEL!

In the fore-ground of this extraordinary picture, remark a MISSIONARY, who has reformed the very reformation; ſeparated from all the Proteſtant churches, and in *trimming* the veſſel of religion, which he has brought into a *new dock*, has ſuffered as much for the ſake of conſcience, as Lodowic Muggleton or James Nailer could regiſter in their martyrology. Remark that ſame gentleman inflaming the rabble, dividing his Majeſty's ſubjects, propagating black ſlander, and throwing the gauntlet to people who never provoked him. Is not fanaticiſm, the mother of cruelty, and the daughter of folly, the firſt character in this *religious maſquerade?* Is it not the firſt ſpring that gives motion to theſe extraordinary figures, ſo correſponſive to Hogarth's Enraged

raged Muſician? And in fencing with folly, have not the graveſt authors handled the foils of ridicule? To the modern Footes and Molieres, or to the young ſtudent in rhetoric, who employs irony in enlarging on his theme, ſhould I for ever leave the "pained ſouls and "trembling hearts," of the Scotch Jonathan and the Engliſh Samuel, with their ſquadrons of Iſraelites fighting "for the ark of the Lord," if what they ſtyle in England the Gordonian Aſſociations, had not voted their thanks to Mr. Weſley, for what they call his *excellent letter*. Such a performance is worthy the approbation of ſuch cenſors; and in their holy ſhrines the ſacred relic ſhould be repoſited. In examining a performance which contains in a ſmall compaſs, all the horrors invented by blind and miſguided zeal, ſet forth in the moſt bitter language, I ſhall confine myſelf to the ſtrict line of an apologiſt, who clears himſelf and his principles from the fouleſt aſperſions. To the public and their impartial reaſon, the appeal ſhall be made. To the ſentiments implanted in the human breaſt, and to the conduct of man, not to the rubbiſh of the ſchools, Mr. Weſley ſhould have made application, when he undertook to ſolve the intereſting problem, Whether the Roman Catholics ſhould

as much as poſſible after the prophets: the prophet Ezechiel breathed on a pile of bones, and lo! a formidable army ſtarting from the earth and ranging itſelf in battle-array. Mr. Weſley blows the duſt of an old book, and lo! ſquadrons of religious warriors engaged in a cruſade for the extirpation of the infidels.

The loyalty, the conduct, the virtues common to all, the natural attachment of man to his intereſt and country, the peaceable behaviour of the Roman Catholics, have no weight in the ſcale of candour and juſtice. An old council, held four hundred years ago, is ranſacked and miſconſtrued; a Roman Catholic is unworthy of being tolerated amongſt the Turks, becauſe Mr. Weſley puts on his ſpectacles to read old Latin.

I have the honour to remain,

Gentlemen,

Your humble and obedient ſervant,

MARY'S-LANE, DUBLIN,
FEBRUARY 28, 1780.

ARTHUR O'LEARY.

LETTER II.

(ADDRESSED AS THE FORMER.)

GENTLEMEN,

FANATICISM is a kind of religious folly. We laughed at it in a former letter. Whoever has a mind to indulge his humour at our expence, is heartily welcome. You now expect a ſerious anſwer to a ſerious charge. I ſend you ſuch as occurs.

"The council of Conſtance has openly "avowed violation of faith with heretics. But "it has never been openly diſclaimed. There- "fore," concludes Mr. Weſley, "the Roman "Catholics ſhould not be tolerated amongſt the "Turks or Pagans."

A council ſo often quoted in anniverſary ſermons, parliamentary debates, and flying

pamphlets, challenges peculiar attention. We ſhall examine it with as much preciſion as poſſible, and with the more impartiality, as ſtrict juſtice ſhall be done to all parties. Mr. Weſley *knows* that we are all Adam's children, who feel the fatal impreſſions of our origin, and that ambition which took its riſe in Heaven itſelf, often lurks in a corner of the ſanctuary where the miniſters of religion offer up their prayers, as well as in the cabinets of kings, where ſhrewd courtiers form their intrigues. At a time, then, when ambition, that inſatiable deſire of elevation, that worm which ſtings the heart, and never leaves it at reſt, preſented the univerſe with the extraordinary ſight of three prelates reviving the reſtleſs ſpirit of the Roman triumvirate, and diſturbing the peace of mankind as much with their ſpiritual weapons, as Octavius, Anthony, and Lepidus had diſturbed it with their armed legions. At a time when the broachers of new doctrines were kindling up the fire of ſedition, and after ſhaking the foundations of what was then the eſtabliſhed religion, were ſhaking the foundations of thrones and empires. At that critical time, in fourteen hundred and fourteen, was held the council of Conſtance, with a deſign, as the fathers of that council expreſs themſelves, to reform the

three biſhops, aſſuming the titles of popes by the names of Gregory the twelfth, Benedict the thirteenth, and John the twenty-third, had brought on Europe, ſplit into three grand factions by the ambition of the above-mentioned competitors. Such tranſactions in the miniſters of a religion that preaches up peace and humility as the ſolid foundations on which the ſtructure of all Chriſtian virtues is to be raiſed, may ſtartle the unthinking reader, and give him an unfavourable idea of religion: but we are never to confound the weakneſs of the miniſter with the holineſs of his miniſtry.—We reſpect the ſanctuary in which Stephen officiated,—though Nicholas profaned it; we revere the place from whence Judas fell,—and to which Matthias was promoted: the ſcriptures reſpect the chair of Moſes,—though they cenſure ſeveral pontiffs who ſat in it; and no Catholic canonizes the vices of popes,—though he reſpects their ſtation and dignity. The pontifical throne is ſtill the ſame, whether it be filled by a cruel Alexander the ſixth, or a benevolent Ganganelli.

To the council of Conſtance was cited then John Huſs, a Bohemian, famous for propagating errors tending to tear the mitre from the heads of biſhops, and wreſt the ſceptre from the hands of kings: in a word, he was obnoxious

noxious to church and ſtate; and if Mr. Weſley and I preached up his doctrine *in the name of God*, we would be condemned *in the name of the king*. The Proteſtant and Catholic divines would baniſh us from their univerſities, and the judges of aſſize would exterminate us from civil ſociety. Such a doctor had no indulgence to expect from a council, which, after depoſing two rivals for the popedom, condemned a third for contumacy, and elected another in his room.

But in mentioning John Huſs, whoſe trial and execution at Conſtance have given riſe to the foul charge of *violation of faith with heretics*, let none imagine that I am an apologiſt for the fiery execution of perſons, on the ſcore of religious opinions. Let the legiſlators who were the firſt to invent the cruel method of puniſhing the errors of the mind with the excruciating tortures of the body, anſwer for their own laws. I am of opinion, that the true religion, propagated by the effuſion of the blood of its martyrs, would ſtill triumph without burning the fleſh of heretics; and that the Proteſtant * and Catholic legiſlators who have ſubſtituted the blazing pile in the room of Phalaris's brazen bull, might have pointed out a

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more lenient puniſhment for victims who, in their opinion, had no proſpect during the interminable ſpace of a boundleſs eternity, but that of *paſſing from one fire into another*. If in enacting ſuch laws, they had conſulted the true ſpirit of religion, I believe the reformation of their own hearts would have been a more acceptable ſacrifice to the Divinity, than hecatombs of human victims. "No God nor man," ſays Tertullian, "ſhould be pleaſed with a "forced ſervice." "We are not to perſecute "thoſe whom God tolerates," ſays St. Auguſtine. That faith is fictitious which is inſpired by the edge of the ſword.

But ſtill the nature of ſociety is ſuch, that when once the common land-marks are ſet up, it oppoſes the hand of the individual that attempts to remove them. Where one common mode of worſhip is eſtabliſhed, and fenced by the laws of the ſtate, whoever attempts to overthrow it, muſt expect to meet with oppoſition and violence, until cuſtom ſoftens the rigour of early prejudices, and reconciles us to men whoſe features and lineaments are like our own, but ſtill ſeem ſtrange to us becauſe their thoughts are different.

How far oppoſition to religious innovations is juſtifiable, is not our buſineſs to diſcuſs. But

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the experience of ages evinces the fact; and in diſſimilar circumſtances, Mr. Weſley has made the trial. In kingdoms, where, as in the Roman Pantheon, every divinity had its altars, ſpeculative deviations from the religion eſtabliſhed by law, the ſingularity of love-feaſts and nocturnal meetings, ſo unuſual among the modern Chriſtians of every denomination, rouſed the vigilance of the magiſtrate, and influenced the rage of the rabble. Now, that cuſtom has rendered Mr. Weſley's meeting-houſes and mode of worſhip familiar, and that all denominations enjoy a ſhare of that religious liberty, whereof he would fain deprive his Roman Catholic neighbour, his matin hymns give no uneaſineſs either to the magiſtrate, or his neighbours. But had Mr. Weſley raiſed his notes on the high key of *civil diſcordance*—had he attempted by his ſermons, his writings and exhortations, to deprive the biſhops of the eſtabliſhed religion, of their croſiers; kings of their thrones; and magiſtrates of the ſword of juſtice; long ere now would his *pious labours*. have been crowned with martyrdom, and his name regiſtered in the calendar of *Fox's ſaints*. Such, unfortunately, was the caſe of John Huſs. Not ſatisfied with overthrowing what was then the eſtabliſhed religion, and levelling

thority. He boldly aſſerts that "Princes, ma-"giſtrates, &c. in the ſtate of mortal ſin, are "deprived *ipſo facto* of all power and juriſ-"diction."* In this doctrine was enveloped the ſeeds of anarchy and ſedition, which ſubſequent preachers unfolded to the deſtruction of peace and tranquillity, almoſt all over Europe; and which Sir William Blackſtone deſcribes as follows: "The dreadful effect of ſuch a reli-"gious bigotry, when actuated by erroneous "principles, even of the Proteſtant kind, are "ſufficiently evident from the hiſtory of the "Anabaptiſts † in Germany, the Covenanters "in Scotland, and the deluge of ſectaries in "England, who murdered their ſovereign, "overturned the church and monarchy, ſhock-"every

* See the acts of the council of Conſtance in L'Abbe's Collection of councils.

† This is no imputation on the Anabaptiſts of our days, who are as peaceable and good men as any others. Men's opinions change with the times, as in different ſtages of life we change our thoughts, and ſettle at the age of forty the roving imagination of ſixteen. Cuſtom, and mutual intercourſe amongſt fellow-ſubjects of every denomination, would ſoon quench the remaining ſparks of religious feuds, if diſtinctive laws were aboliſhed. But, unfortunately for the ſociety in which we live, the laws, whoſe aim ſhould be to unite the inhabitants, are calculated to divide them. My neighbour diſtruſts me, becauſe the penal laws held me forth as a reprobate before

"every pillar of law, juſtice, and private pro-
"perty, and moſt devoutly eſtabliſhed a king-
"dom of ſaints in their ſtead."*

John Huſs, then, after broaching the above-mentioned doctrines, and making Bohemia the theatre of inteſtine war, is ſummoned to appear before the council. He obtains a ſafe-conduct from the emperor Sigiſmund, commanding governors of province, &c. not to moleſt him on his journey to, or return from, Conſtance; but to afford him every aid and aſſiſtance.

before I was born, and during my life encouraged him to ſeize my horſe, or drag me before a magiſtrate for ſaying my prayers; which reduces me to the ſad neceſſity of hating him, or conſidering him as an enemy, if in the great ſtruggle between nature and grace, religion does not triumph. Before Lewis the fourteenth and George the firſt, repealed the laws againſt witches, every diſfigured old woman was in danger of her life, and conſidered as a ſorcereſs. Since the *witch-making* laws have been repealed, there is not a witch in the land, and the dairy-maid is not under the neceſſity of uſing counter charms to hinder the milk from being enchanted from her pail. Thus, if the penal laws, which by a kind of omnipotence create an original ſin, making rogues of catholics before they reach their hands to the tempting fruit, were once repealed, they would be as honeſt as their neighbours, and the objects of their love and confidence.

aſſiſtance. In all the provinces and cities through which he paſſes, he gives public notice of his intention to appear before the council and ſtand his trial. But inſtead of ſtanding his trial, and retracting his errors, he attempts to make his eſcape, in order to diſſeminate, and make them take deeper root. He is arreſted and confined, in order that he ſhould take his trial, after having *violated* his promiſe, and abuſed a ſafe-conduct granted him for the purpoſe of exculpating himſelf, or retracting his errors, if proved againſt him before his competent judges. It is here to be remarked, that John Huſs was an eccleſiaſtic; and that in ſpiritual caſes the biſhops were his only and competent judges. The boundaries of the two powers, I mean the church and ſtate, being kept diſtinct; the cenſer left to the pontiff, and the ſword to the magiſtrate; the church confined to her ſpiritual weapons; privation of life and limb, and corporal puniſhments being quite of the province of the ſtate; one ſhould not interfere with the other. As the body of the criminal is under the controul of the magiſtrate, too jealous of his privilege to permit the church to interfere with his power;—ſo, erroneous doctrines are under the controul of ſpiritual judges, too jealous of their prerogatives to permit the civil magiſtrate to interfere with their rights.—Hence, when the partizans

of

of Huſs raiſed clamours about his confinement, and pleaded his ſafe-conduct, the council publiſhed the famous decree which has given riſe to ſo many cavils, for the ſpace of four hundred years, though thouſands of laws of a more important nature, and of which we now think but little, have been publiſhed ſince that time. The council declares, "That every ſafe-conduct granted by the emperor, kings, and other temporal princes, to hereticks, or perſons accuſed of hereſy, ought not to be of any prejudice to the Catholic faith, or to the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction; nor to hinder that ſuch perſons may and ought to be examined, judged, and puniſhed, according as juſtice ſhall require, if thoſe hereticks refuſe to revoke their errors: and the perſon who ſhall have promiſed them ſecurity, ſhall not, in this caſe, be obliged to keep his promiſe, by whatever tie he may be engaged, becauſe he has done all that is in his power to do." I appeal to the impartial public, whether that declaration of the council does not regard the peculiar caſe of *ſafe-conducts*, granted by temporal princes, to perſons who are liable to be tried by competent and independent tribunals? And, whether it be not an inſult to candour and common ſenſe, to give it ſuch a latitude as to extend it to every lawful promiſe, [redacted] engagement between man and man?

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As if the council of Conſtance meant to authorize me to buy my neighbour's goods, and after a ſolemn promiſe to pay him, ſtill to keep his ſubſtance, and break my word. The church and ſtate are two diſtinct and independent powers, each in its peculiar line.—A man is to be tried by the church for erroneous doctrines: a temporal prince grants this man a ſafe-conduct, to guard his perſon from any violence which may be offered him on his journey; and to procure him a fair and candid trial, on his appearance before his lawful judges. Has not this prince done all that is in his power to do? Doth his promiſe to ſuch a man authorize him to interfere with a foreign and independent juriſdiction, or to uſurp the rights of another? Do not the very words of the council, "Becauſe he has done all that is in his "power to do," prove that lawful promiſes are to be fulfilled?

Such juriſconſults, whether Catholics or Proteſtants, ſuch as Prenus, Speklam, and others, as I have accidentally read, concerning the nature of ſafe-conducts, lay down for a general rule, that they are never granted to ſuſpend the execution of the laws. *Salvus conductus contra jus non datur.* It were nugatory in the emperor Sigiſmund, preſumptive heir to a kingdom, which Huſs's doctrine had changed

changed into a theatre of inteſtine wars, to grant a ſafe-conduct, the meaning and ſenſe whereof would be equivalent to the following paſs: "Although you have ſet kingdoms in a blaze, "by ſtriking at the vitals of temporal autho- "rity, and overthrown the eſtabliſhed religion "of the land; yet go to Conſtance and come "back, without appearing before your lawful "judges, or retracting doctrines which have "cauſed ſuch diſturbances in church and ſtate." Safe-conducts then are not granted to ſcreen delinquents from puniſhment, when legally convicted; much leſs, to countenance diſobedience to the laws, and diſorder, by impunity.

The council was the moſt competent judge of Huſs's doctrine, in which he ſtedfaſtly perſevered. Neither king nor emperor could deprive the biſhops of privileges inſeparably annexed to their characters, viz. ſpiritual juriſdiction, and the right of judging doctrines. Huſs was degraded, and retrenched, according to the uſual formalities, from a communion from which he had ſeparated himſelf before. This is all the biſhops could have done: this they acknowledge after the ſentence of Huſs's degradation was pronounced. "This ſacred "ſynod of Conſtance, conſidering that the "church of Chriſt has nothing further that it

"can do, decrees to leave John Huſs to the "judgment of the ſtate." His execution was in conſequence of the imperial laws, enforced by the civil magiſtrate, as the execution of heretics in England and other Proteſtant ſtates, has been in conſequence of the Imperial laws adopted by ſuch powers. The Proteſtant clergy, as well as the clergy of Conſtance, decided upon points of doctrine, and went no farther.

Thus we ſee, that this ſuperannuated charge of *violation of faith with heretics*, reſembles thoſe nightly ſpectres which vaniſh upon a nearer approach. We find nothing in this council, relative to ſuch a charge, but a diſpute about a paſs granted to a man who goes to take his trial before judges whoſe juriſdiction could not be ſuperſeded. Or if we intend to do juſtice to men with the ſame eagerneſs that we are diſpoſed to injure them, we muſt acknowledge that the fathers of that council condemned lies, frauds, perjury, and thoſe horrors which Mr. Weſley would fain fix upon the Roman Catholics. The foundations then on which Mr. Weſley has erected his aerial fabric, being once ſapped, the ſuperſtructure muſt fall of courſe; and his long train of falſe and unchriſtian aſſertions are ſwept away as a *ſpider's web*, before the *wind* of logical

cal rules. *From abſurd premiſes follows an abſurd concluſion.*

What greater abſurdity than Mr. Weſley's inſiſting upon a general council's diſclaiming a doctrine it never taught. If Mr. Weſley be ſo credulous as to believe that the pope has horns, muſt we convene a general council to declare that his forehead is ſmooth? Is it not ſufficient to diſclaim the truth of the odious imputation, when the falſe creed is fixed on us? We are really of opinion, that whoever believes us capable of harbouring ſuch ſentiments, is capable of putting the horrid maxims in practice. He muſt have ſtudied the human heart, not in the books of nature, but Hobbes's Leviathan; and ſhould curſe his fate that Providence has been ſo unkindly partial to him.

Rouſſeau declares, that if he had been preſent at the reſurrection of Lazarus, he would not have believed it. "The apparition," ſays he, "would have made a fool of me, by frightening "me out of my ſenſes, but it would never have "made a convert of me."

If a general council were held in order to *diſclaim* the ridiculous and abominable creed imputed to Roman Catholics; the ſceptic, who

to the oaths and declarations of millions, would give no credit to a convention of biſhops with the pope at their head.

Let the appeal be made, not to ſtubborn ſceptics, but to thoſe who liſten to the voice of reaſon, and conſult the heart. This interior monitor, when paſſion and prejudice are huſhed into ſilence, is ſeldom conſulted in vain. Let us not travel to Catholic ſtates where perjury is puniſhed with death, and every argument tending to prove that the pope can abſolve ſubjects from oaths, and grant a diſpenſation to commit all kinds of crimes, is confuted with a halter. Let us look nearer home, and compare what we ſee on one hand, with what is ſuppoſed on the other.

We ſee a million and half of Roman Catholics ſmarting under the moſt oppreſſive laws that the human heart could ever deviſe! When they were enacted, our anceſtors had the lands of their fathers and the religion of their education. If perjury had been an article of their belief, they could have ſecured their inheritance, by taking an oath of abjuration. If papal diſpenſations were, in their opinion, lenitives to an ulcerated conſcience, when, or where could they have been more ſeaſonably applied, than at that time and place, where the

the properties of millions depended on the application?

If oaths againſt conviction, diſpenſations with perjury, and anticipated abſolutions from future crimes, were articles of their belief, they would have prevented the blazing comets which ſcorch the living, and ſpread their influence to the dormitories of the dead, from kindling in their native air; and hindered cruelty, which is diſarmed in the tyrant's breaſt at ſight of the expiring victim, from purſuing them to the grave, and depriving them of the *cold* comfort of mingling their aſhes with thoſe of their anceſtors.*

Thoſe laws which have baniſhed our nobility from the ſenate; deprived our gentry of the liberty of wearing a ſword, either as a means of defence againſt the midnight aſſaſſin, or as a part of dreſs in the open day;—the merchant of the power of realizing the fruits of his induſtry, in obtaining landed ſecurity for his money, or the liberty of purchaſing; the lower claſs of people of the liberty of

* The penal laws offered the moſt galling inſult to the Roman Catholic gentry, at the time of their being enacted. Their burying places were in the ruins of old abbeys, founded by their anceſtors. A law was enacted

of becoming common ſoldiers, mayor's ſer-jeants, or coal-meaſurers, and the valiant youth of ſerving his king, and reaping laurels in defence of his country;—theſe laws are ſtill in being. It is true, to the honour of the Iriſh ſenate, they have ſtaunched the blood flowing this long time paſt from one of the moſt tender veins of the human heart, by putting it out of the power of the profligate ſon to betray and rob his tender and hoary father. But, ſtill the inſidious neighbour can ſeize his neighbour's horſe; the unfaithful huſband can baniſh his chaſte and virtuous wife, after the *oath* pledged in preſence of God, at the nuptial ſolemnity; the deſigning villain can ſet fire to his houſe, and build a new one, at the expence of his Catholic neighbours, who were aſleep whilſt he himſelf was lighting the fagot*.

Thus like a *running evil*, in a ſucceſſive gradation, they ulcerate every part of the body: and, though the lenity of the magiſtrate is a kind of mollifying application, that may aſ-

 ſuage

* Mr. O'Leary was preſent when the caſe was tried in the county court-houſe of Cork. He has likewiſe ſeen the venerable matron, after twenty-four years marriage, baniſhed from the perjured huſband's houſe, though it was proved in open court, that for ſix months before his marriage, he went to maſs. But the law requires that he ſhould be a year and a day of the ſame religion.

ſuage the ſore for a certain time; yet whilſt the noxious humour lurks within the receſs of the law, we can never expect a radical cure.

"It is needleſs to comment upon the ſpirit "of ſuch laws.—The very recital chills with "horror:" So remarks my learned and worthy acquaintance, Doctor Campbell. "Let "it not be argued, that theſe laws are ſeldom "put in execution. Is property to depend "upon the courteſy of an avaricious, malig- "nant neighbour?—Damocles was, perhaps, "ſafe enough under the ſuſpended ſword of "Dionyſius; but the apprehenſion of danger "ſcared away thoſe viſions of happineſs which "he had ſeen in the envied pomp of tyran- "ny *." "Laws," ſays the preſident Monteſquieu, "which do all the miſchief that can be "done, in cold blood;" and to which Lucretius might allude in his famous Epiphonema: *Tantum religio potuit ſuadere malorum! Could religion be productive of ſuch miſchief!* That philoſopher, who in reading the epitaph of a voluptuous monarch, cried out that it was better ſuited to an ox than to a king: *Bove quam rege dignius*, in reading the penal code, could form another antitheſis: "The ſeal that gave a ſanc-

"tion to ſuch laws, ſhould rather bear the im-
"preſſion of the claws of a lion, than the head
"of a queen."*

Such are the laws to whoſe unrelenting rigour we are every day expoſed. The diſpoſition of man, ſo averſe to reſtraint, would ſoon ſhake off the oppreſſive burden, if the importunate voice of conſcience did not ſilence the cries of nature, and intimate to the Catholic, that, "death is preferable to perjury." The remedy is in our own hands, and we daily refuſe to apply it, though a ſmall bandage could ſoon cloſe up the bleeding veins of oppreſſion, and a ſlight palliative remove the temporal grievances of which we complain. The churches are open; and though Mr. Weſley ſays, that "our oaths are light as air," yet one oath taken againſt the conviction of our conſciences, would level the fences, and "ſweep" away all the penal laws "as ſo ma-

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* Queen Anne, the laſt ſovereign of the Stuart line, who after combining againſt her father, and violating the articles of Limerick, under pretence of ſtrengthening the Proteſtant religion, gave a ſanction to thoſe laws; though her chief aim was to ſecure herſelf againſt the claims of her brother. Thus, religion often becomes an engine of policy, in the hands of ſovereigns. Query to Civilians: Should not oppreſſive laws ceaſe, when the motives that gave riſe to them ſubſiſt no more?

" ny ſpider's webs," to uſe his *delicate* expreſſion. This is an argument which ſpeaks to the feelings of man, and which no ſophiſtry can ever refute. The prieſts themſelves are intereſted in the profanation; for, by entering into a colluſion with their flocks, and uſing their magic powers to forgive all ſins, *paſt*, *preſent*, and *to come*, they could permit them to graze on the *commons of legal indulgence*; and by turning them into a richer paſture, expect more milk and wool. Avarice has ever been the reproach of the ſanctuary: it is recorded in Scripture, that the prieſts of the old law uſed to take the beſt part of the victim to themſelves, before it was offered to the God of Iſrael, and that Judas ſold our Saviour for thirty pieces of ſilver. Mr. Weſley then muſt *charitably* preſume, that no *prieſt* will forego his perſonal intereſt in compliment to his ſucceſſor; and as it is his intereſt to impoſe upon his votaries, to ſlacken the reins, and ſhelter himſelf under the ſhade of the laws; either perjury is no part of his belief, or he muſt be too ſcrupulous; which in Mr. Weſley's opinion is *hereſy* to believe. In ethics, as in mathematics, there are ſelf-evident demonſtrations; no propoſition in Euclid is more clear than the following: " A perſon who does not think

"perjury a crime, would not forfeit a guinea "from reluctance to an oath." The Roman Catholics forfeit every privilege rather than take an oath againſt their conſcience.

Are not they Adam's children? Have they not the ſame ſenſations of pain and pleaſure as other men? Their vices and virtues, do they not run into the ſame channels with thoſe of their Proteſtant neighbours? Are they not animated with the ſame deſires of glory, allured by the blandiſhments of pleaſure, courted by the charms of riches, as eager for the enjoyment of eaſe and opulence? If perjury be their creed, if their clergy be endued with the magic power of forgiving not only *preſent* but *future ſins*, why do not they glide gently down the ſtream of legal liberty, inſtead of ſtemming the torrent of oppreſſion? Why do not they qualify themſelves for ſitting in the ſenate, and giving laws to the land in concert with their countrymen, inſtead of being the continual objects of penal ſanctions? It is, that they are diametrically the reverſe of what they are repreſented. Their religion forbids them to ſport with the awful name of the Divinity. They do not chooſe to impoſe upon their neighbours, or themſelves, by perjury; nor

nor run the riſque of eternal death for a little honey.——Were it otherwiſe, in three weeks time they could all read their recantations, and be on a level with the reſt of their fellow-ſubjects: they could imitate that philoſopher who had two religions,—one for himſelf, and another for his country. Yet the archives of national juſtice can prove, that Catholics, reduced to the neceſſity of diſcovering againſt themſelves, preferred the loſs of their eſtates to the guilt of perjury, when a falſe oath could have ſecured them in their property. Notwithſtanding this imputed creed, they prefer the ſmarting afflictions of the body to the ſtinging remorſes of the ſoul; and when worldly proſperities ſtand in competition with conſcience, they rather chooſe to be its martyrs than executioners.

Gentlemen, reconcile, if you can, perjurers from principle, with ſufferers from delicacy of conſcience, and I ſhall ſtyle you the children of the *great Apollo*. But are not the Catholics a ſet of paſſive machines, veering at the breath of the Pope, who can diſpenſe with them in any thing? "Or what ſecurity can they give "to Proteſtant governors, whilſt they acknow-"ledge his ſpiritual power?" If this be any objection to their loyalty, Catholic kings ſhould

Proteſtants in their ſtead: for, as the Roman Catholic faith is the ſame all over the world, and that France and Spain are more convenient to the Pope than the Britannic iſlands, he would have more machines to move, more votaries to obey his mandates, and more facility in compaſſing his deſigns. In England and Ireland all the Proteſtants would oppoſe him; whereas in Catholic kingdoms, if his power has ſuch an unlimited ſway over the conſcience of man, as Mr. Weſley aſſerts, every ſubject, nay, kings themſelves, would be bound to obey him. But Catholic ſubjects know, that if God muſt have his own, Cæſar muſt have his due. In his quality of pontiff, they are ready to kiſs the pope's feet: but if he aſſume the title of conqueror, they are ready to bind his hands. The very eccleſiaſtical benefices, which are more in the ſpiritual line, are not at his diſpoſal. When England had more to dread from him than now, a Catholic parliament paſſed the ſtatute of premunire; the biſhops and mitred abbots preferred their own temporal intereſt to that of the pope, and reſerve the benefices to themſelves, and the clergy under their juriſdiction. Charity begins at home, and I do not believe any Catholic ſo diveſted of it, as to prefer fifty pounds a year under the pope's government, to an hundred under that of a Proteſtant king. Queen Mary,

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ſo devoted to the pope's cauſe, both on account of her religion, and the juſtice done to her mother by the inflexible reſolution of the ſovereign pontiff, ſtill would not cede her temporal rights, nor thoſe of her ſubjects, in compliment to his ſpiritual power. After the reconciliation of her kingdom to the apoſtolical ſee, a ſtatute was paſſed, enacting, that the pope's bulls, briefs, &c. ſhould be meerly confined to ſpirituals, without interfering with the independence of her kingdom, or the rights of her ſubjects. The hiſtory of Europe proclaims aloud, that the Roman Catholics are not paſſive engines in the hands of popes, and that they confine his power within the narrow limits of his ſpiritual province. They have often taken his cities, and oppoſed Paul's ſword to Peter's keys, and *ſilenced the thunders of the vatican* with the noiſe of the cannon. They know that Peter was a fiſherman when kings ſwayed the ſceptre, and that the ſubſequent grandeur of his ſucceſſors could never authoriſe him to alter the primitive inſtitution that commands ſubjects to obey their rulers, and to give Cæſar his due.

With regard to his ſpiritual power, you will be ſurpriſed, Gentlemen, when I tell you,

amongſt the Chriſtians, have aſſumed more power than the pope dare to aſſume over the Catholics.

They may add or diminiſh: but, with regard to the pope, the landmarks are erected, and we would never permit him to remove them. If he attempted to preach up five ſacraments inſtead of ſeven, we would immediately depoſe him. Mr. Weſley may alter his faith as often as he pleaſes, and prevail on others to do the ſame; but the pope can never alter ours: we acknowledged him, indeed, as head of the church,—for every ſociety muſt have a link of union, to guard againſt confuſion and anarchy; and, without annexing any infallibility to his perſon, we acknowledge his title to precedence and pre-eminence. But, in acknowledging him as the *firſt pilot to ſteer the veſſel*, we acknowledge a compaſs by which he is to direct his courſe. He is to preſerve the veſſel, but never to expoſe it to ſhipwreck. Any deviation from the laws of God, the rights of nature, or the faith of our fathers, would be the fatal rock on which the pope himſelf would ſplit. In a word, the pope is our firſt paſtor; he may feed, but cannot poiſon us: we acknowledge no power in him, either to alter our faith, or to corrupt our morals.

If

If the pope's power were then rightly underſtood, his ſpiritual ſupremacy would give no more umbrage to the king of Great Britain, than the juriſdiction of a dioceſan biſhop. But deep-rooted prejudices can ſcarcely be removed; and little can be expected from the generality, when the learned themſelves are hurried by the tide of popular error.

From want of rightly underſtanding the caſe, and attention to the diſcriminating line drawn by the Catholics between the pope's ſpiritual and temporal power, ſir William Blackſtone himſelf gave into the ſnare of vulgar deluſion. This learned expoſitor of England's common law, declares the Roman Catholics as well entitled to every legal indulgence as the other diſſenters from the eſtabliſhed religion, maugre their *real preſence*, *purgatory*, *confeſſions*, &c. But ſtill the pope's ghoſt haunts him to ſuch a degree, that he would fain have the Catholics abjure his ſpiritual ſupremacy. But ſir William, who has expoſed himſelf to the cenſure of Mr. Sheridan, in eſtabliſhing the formidable right of conqueſt over Ireland, and to the animadverſions of the divines, by declaring that "an act of parliament can alter the religion of the land," (as if, by act of parliament, we ſhould all become

Paradiſe)—has expoſed himſelf to the reproaches of every ſmatterer in divinity, who could aſk him, If, in acknowledging the ſpiritual juriſdiction of the biſhop of London, he encroached upon the privileges of the Lord Mayor.

But in talking of the power of parliament "to alter the religion of the land," ſir William has argued from facts; and in talking of the *ſpiritual* power of the pope, he muſt have argued from hearſay. The lawyer may be excuſed when he talks of ſpiritual powers: but what apology can be pleaded by the apoſtle and divine, who, like Triſtram Shandy's prieſt, baptizes the child before he is born, and grants popes and prieſts the power of forgiving all ſins, not only *paſt* and *preſent* but *ſins to come*; this Mr. Weſley aſſerts: It is a ſurpriſing magic that *forgives* now, the ſin that is to be committed a hundred years hence: let no one deprive Mr. Weſley of the glory of the *invention*. Paſt ſins, in our belief, can be forgiven by popes and prieſts, not as primary agents, but as ſubordinate inſtruments in the hands of the Divinity; not according to the abſolute will of the prieſt, but according to the diſpoſitions of the penitent, and the clauſes of the covenant of mercy, which the prieſt can neither alter, nor diſannul.

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The dark receſſes of the criminal conſcience muſt be ſearched. The monſter muſt be ſtifled in the heart that gave it birth. A ſincere ſorrow for paſt guilt, a firm reſolution to avoid future lapſes, and every poſſible atonement to the injured Deity, and the injured neighbour, are the previous and indiſpenſable requiſites. Take away any of the three conditions, and the pope's and prieſt's abſolution are but empty ſounds; the keys of the church rattle in vain: they are no more than the mutterings of ſorcerers, or words of incantation pronounced over a dead body, without ever imparting to it the genial heat of animation and vitality. Popes nor prieſts can do no more than God himſelf, —and the ſcriptures declare, that God will never forgive the ſinner without ſorrow and repentance. And the ſchoolmen diſpute, whether, by an abſolute power, he could raiſe to the beatific viſion, a ſoul polluted with the defilements of guilt. If then the prieſt's abſolution be any plea againſt Roman Catholics, it may as well be ſaid that the promiſe of the Moſt High, "to pardon the repentant ſinner, although "his ſins were as red as ſcarlet," encourages men to commit ſin; or that a man may take an oath contrary to his conſcience, under the idea, that a ſubſequent repentance will gain forgive-

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"But is it not intolerable preſumption in "man to arrogate ſuch power?" Be it ſo; I am an apologiſt when I write in a public paper: controverſy I leave to the ſchools. If I make my confeſſion to a prieſt, what is it to my neighbour? Society will gain by the *pretended* ſuperſtition: for the moſt immoral Catholics are thoſe who ſeldom or never frequent the ſacraments. I look on the pretended conferences of Numa Pompilius with the nymph Egeria, as a meer fiction, deviſed by that political prince. Yet I admire the wiſdom of the legiſlator, who introduced a plan of ſoftening the ſavage manners of his uncivilized ſubjects, and ſmoothing the aſperity of ſtubborn nature by religious awe. Thoſe who are unacquainted with the nature of confeſſion, may conſider it as *prieſt-craft*, yet neither maſter, or landlord will ever loſe by the impoſture; when their ſervants and tenants kneel to a prieſt, whoſe duty is to revive in their minds the notions of probity and virtue. Thus, the wiſeſt of the Proteſtant churches have never diſcountenanced confeſſion: the form of abſolution, and the previous diſpoſitions required on the part of the penitent are ſet down at large in the liturgy: and as to the power of forgiving ſins granted to the miniſters of religion, expreſs mention is made of it in the ſcriptures. Mr. Weſley muſt acknowledge this power, whether it conſiſts in

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the prieſtly abſolution, or in the preaching of the goſpel, or "in pious canticles, ſung with a "ſkilful tongue and harmonious voice, lifting "the riſing ſoul and plunging it into a myſti-"cal ſlumber, as ſoothing and ſoft as the balm "of Gilead."*

Such Chriſtians as acknowledge original ſin, and the virtue of baptiſm to cancel the unavoidable debt, muſt acknowledge that the miniſter of religion effaces the ſtain by applying the elements. If the Catholics believe that by the inſtitution of Chriſt, the miniſter of religion can forgive ſins, they are convinced at the ſame time, that he is no more than a ſubordinate agent, who derives his power from a ſuperior being, in abſolving the adult, as he derives his power from the ſame ſource, when he purifies the ſoul of the infant. I know full well that God could change the heart of man, and forgive ſins in young and old, without the interpoſition of a human being. The prophet, who was conſulted by two Jewiſh kings, and before he would give an anſwer called for a harp,

* See an abridgment of Weſley's journal, where he compares the impreſſions he made on his hearers to the *balm of Gilead.* As far as I can recollect, he relates in

harp, could have received the prophetic inſpiration, without touching the ſtrings of the tuneful lyre. Chriſt could have reſtored the blind man to his ſight without applying the mud to his eyes, and converted the world without expoſing his apoſtles to martyrdom. But am I to bring him to an account for uſing intermediate agents; or what I think to be an inſtitution of the Divinity, is it not my duty to abide by it? Happy thoſe who can ſave themſelves without the aſſiſtance of any other! Thrice happy Mr. Weſley! who is already regiſtered in the *book of life*, and empowered to grant *in-amiſſable* ſecurity to others for the anticipated enjoyment of eternal bliſs. He can ſum up the number of the holy ſouls who have climbed up the ſteps of the myſtical ladder, and on the higheſt ſtep of all, as on the ramparts of an impregnable fortreſs, reckon ſo many ſouls *confirmed* in a ſtate of *in-amiſſable* ſanctity*, whilſt I am ſo miſerable as not to know whether I am *worthy of love or hatred*, and

* See Weſley's Journal, where he declares, that on his viſitation, he met ſo many *ſanctified*, ſo many *juſtified*, and ſo many *confirmed* in love. *Qui poteſt capiat.* I cannot comprehend this myſtical divinity. By confirmation in love, he muſt mean, that whoever believes himſelf once arrived to that happy ſtate, can ſin no more. I am glad to ſee a fellow-creature *confirmed* in the love of God.—But I am ſorry to find ſome ſo *ill-confirmed* in the love of their neighbour,

and have millions of times more reaſon than St. Paul to ſolicit the prayers of my fellow-chriſtians, *leſt that in praying for others, I myſelf may become a reprobate.*

In our communion, Gentlemen, we never hold forth our confeſſions and abſolutions as licences for guilt, but as curbs to the paſſions. Our prieſts make their confeſſions, as well as the laity; for no prieſt can abſolve himſelf, nor flatter himſelf with impunity in committing *preſent* or *future crimes.* Our directors point out the path to the wayfaring pilgrim, between the two extremes of *deſpair* and *preſumption*: to guard againſt the firſt, the gates of penance are thrown open, as ſo many avenues that lead to mercy: to guard againſt the ſecond, the dread of God's judgments, the uncertainty of the laſt hour, the abuſes of God's graces, which, if neglected, ſwell the long liſt of crimes and puniſhments, are held forth in all their terrors.

We repreſent to the guilty conſcience, ſinking under a weight of anxieties and crimes, the penitent thief crying out for mercy, and obtaining pardon. We repreſent to the obſtinatn-

nate and preſumptuous ſinner, the impenitent thief, threatening reprobation. We know, that whilſt the ſerpent is raiſed up in the wilderneſs, no wound is incurable: we know, on the other hand, that, when criminal cities had filled up the meaſure of their iniquity, in vain did Abraham lift up his hands to Heaven, to ſolicit their pardon. If we place between the Judge and the ſinner a great Mediator; tho' the Mediator and Judge be the ſame, yet we place between the Mediator and ſinner an awful Judge. We earneſtly recommend the frequent uſe of confeſſion, becauſe man is ſo frail that he ſtands in frequent need of it. But ſtill we recommend it, not as looſe reins to humour the ſinner's paſſions, but as a ſtiff bridle to check their ſallies. We never encourage our penitents to new diſorders, but inſpire them with deteſtation for former guilt, and fear of ſwelling the ſcore; for we know the danger of affronting mercy by new crimes, but cannot know the fatal point where paternal goodneſs is limited. Thus we lead our penitents in the intermediate path between deſpair and preſumption, by the delicate clue of hope and fear, until they reach the critical term, where the ſoul after burſting the chains of its earthly priſon, takes its flight into the vaſt region of ſpirits; and even when arraigned before the judgment ſeat, we tremble for its deſtiny.—Such, Gen-

tlemen, is the nature of confeſſion, whether you conſider it in a uſeful or abuſive light.

Had Mr. Weſley, who, after publiſhing twenty-ſix volumes, knows every thing, even the *language of birds*, known its nature, he would not have adduced it as an argument in juſtification of intolerance, but rather left the *imputed power* of forgiving all kinds of *ſins*, *paſt*, *preſent*, and *to come*, as a flower of rhetoric to grace the garden of the Cynics. Away then with his *prieſtly abſolutions* and *diſpenſing powers*. He aſſumes more power than any prieſt could pretend to.—Away with *violation of faith with heretics*: we acknowledge no hereſy in the duties of ſocial life, or the obligations of Chriſtian virtues.

Such, Gentlemen, are the principles of the Roman Catholics: they are quite the reverſe of Mr. Weſley's charges. Let the impartial public decide, whether a ſet of perjurers, authoriſed to commit all kinds of crimes with impunity, (ſuch as the Roman Catholics are painted) would ſuffer one week on the ſcore of conſcience? In our faith we follow the maxim of St. James, "Whoever tranſgreſſes the law in "one point, is guilty of all." The ſame rule holds good in morals. In allowing that

low that he is guiltleſs in committing another. The ſacrifice muſt be entire; and grace never ſanctifies a divided victory. The fabric of our religion is ſo cloſely cemented—the links of the chain which unites all the articles of our faith, are ſo faſtened within each other, that if you take off one of the links, or looſen a ſtone in the edifice, the whole ſyſtem is entirely deſtroyed. If then all the horrors fixed upon us by the dark pencil of miſrepreſentation, be articles of our belief, when we diſclaim them upon oath, we are real *heretics*, and as well entitled to every legal indulgence, as thoſe who go to church, and ſwear againſt *Tranſubſtantiation*.

We admire the integrity of Regulus, who ſuffered the moſt exquiſite tortures, rather than violate an oath given to his enemies. In the adminiſtration of diſtributive juſtice, the magiſtrate muſt give credit to the Heathen, who ſwears by his falſe gods, to the Jew, who ſwears by the Old Teſtament, and to the Turk, who ſwears by the Koran. In caſes of life and property, he gives credit to the oath of a Roman Catholic, whether he appears as a witneſs or juror. In giving no credit to the oaths of Roman Catholics, when they diſclaim *perjury, diſpenſations for frauds, rebellion, treachery*, &c. he betrays his judgment, and inſults humanity.

But, if judgment has been ever betrayed, or humanity inſulted, they are now betrayed and inſulted by thoſe perſons who compoſe what they call the *Proteſtant Aſſociations*, of whom Mr. Weſley is become the apologiſt. In taking up the pen to conclude this letter, I received their *Appeal to the People of Great-Britain*, printed in London by J. W. Paſham.

Mr. Weſley, who has abridged *his own journal* to give it a greater circulation, has abridged this ſix-penny pamphlet, in his firſt letter. In the beginning of the American war, he publiſhed his "Calm Addreſs," in order to unite the colonies to the mother country. The "balm of "Gilead" proving ineffectual beyond the Atlantic, he now has recourſe to cauſtics at home. Three years ago he intended to unite us: now he intends to divide us. Thus we find Penelope's web in his *religious looms:* what he wove three years ago, he now unravels.

In this "Appeal," on which he paſſes ſuch encomiums, and the deſign whereof he declares to be "benevolent," you can perceive the dormant ſeeds of antiquated fanaticiſm ſprouting anew, and vegetating into religious frenzy, which has deluged the earth with an ocean of calamities, and which would give Heathen

thecary's ſhop has never been ſtocked with more drugs, than this "Appeal" is ſtocked with maſſacres. They have inſerted in it, the bull, "In Cœnâ Domini," which has never been received in any Catholic kingdom; and from an old book which was foiſted on the public in the beginning of the Reformation, as containing the fees of the Roman chancery, they conclude, that "a Roman Catholic can "ſleep with a woman in a church, and commit "there other enormities, by paying nine ſhil-"lings;" and that "he may murder a man, "and commit inceſt*, on paying ſeven ſhil-"lings and ſix-pence," though ſhillings and ſix-pences are Engliſh coins, not current in Italy; and in Catholic countries, the murderer expires on the wheel, and whoever commits inceſt, or profanes the churches by carnal ſins, is burnt at the ſtake. What is more ſurpriſing, Gentlemen, theſe new apoſtles of the *Gordonian aſſociation*, who to uſe the words of our old friend, Hudibraſs,

"Their holy faith do found upon
"The ſacred text of pike and gun,"

imagine that they are the delegates of Heaven for the ſalvation of ſouls: their hands do not brandiſh

* See the "Appeal from the Proteſtant Aſſociations," page 18. Printed by Paſham.

brandiſh the glittering ſpear on the American plains, where D'Eſtaing and Prevoſt diſpute the laurel: but, like Samuel, deploring the loſs of Saul, their eyes are bathed in tears, and their "bowels yearn for millions of ſpirits that have "no exiſtence but in the preſcience of God," who can pity error, and forgive it, and who is more concerned in their ſalvation, than Lord G***** G***** or Mr. Weſley.

I am afraid, Gentlemen, that you mind your own ſouls and bodies more than you mind thoſe of others. To rouſe you from your ſpiritual lethargy, and inflame you with ſome ſparks of love for your neighbour, I ſend you a piece of a ſermon taken from the "Appeal "of the aſſociations."

After deploring the "loſs of millions of "common people, who are prohibited from "reading the ſcriptures," (though it were charity to teach them firſt how to ſpell), "and "who have ſouls as infinite, in value and du-"ration, as the proudeſt prelates, or higheſt "monarchs upon earth,"—they go on: "to "tolerate Popery, is to be inſtrumental to the "perdition of immortal ſouls now exiſting, "and of millions of ſpirits, that at preſent "have no exiſtence but in the preſcience of

"bring down deſtruction on our fleets and ar-
"mies."* I really imagined that the Proteſtant aſſociations were not ſo cruel as to refuſe me mercy, and exclude me from the kingdom of Heaven, if I lead an honeſt, ſober, and virtuous life. I am convinced, that ſeveral of Admiral Rodney's ſailors are Roman Catholics, and that the bullets which *told ſo well*, in maul-ing poor Langara, were fired by hands that *croſſed* a *Popiſh* forehead. Oliver Cromwell, *ſeeking the Lord*, and preaching upon the Sabbath-day, in a leather breeches and buff waiſt-coat, with his truſty ſabre by his ſide †, did not ſcruple to enter into a confederacy with Cardinal Mazarini, againſt the Spaniards: it was equal to England which of the two was foremoſt in the breach, the French dragoon with his whiſkers, after ſaying *Hail Mary*, or the *Round-head* with his leather cap, after *groaning in the ſpirit*. Spain loſt Dunkirk, and England triumphed.

King William, who, to his honour, could never be prevailed on to violate the articles of Limerick, had ſix thouſand Roman Catholics in his army, when he fought the battle of the Boyne: and the Catholics and Proteſtants of

* See the "Appeal from the Proteſtant Aſſociations," page 18, and cry out, *Ohone! ohone! ohone!*

† See Gregorio Leti, in his Life of Cromwell.

of Switzerland maintain their independence againſt all the powers on the Continent, in conſequence of their union. But the Proteſtant aſſociations, like Ezechiel, have ſwallowed a book in which are written *verſes*, and *lamentations*, and *woe!* Already their luminous ſouls, enlightened by the prophetic ſpirit, ſee future times unlocking their diſtant gates, and pouring forth *millions* of monſters; and from a deſire to procure the ſalvation of Adam's children, it is to be dreaded, that, at long run, they will imitate the holy fanatics of Denmark, who, in order to procure Heaven for young infants, after being baptized, uſed to ſlaughter them in their cradles.

A N

AN HUMBLE

REMONSTRANCE

TO THE

SCOTCH AND ENGLISH INQUISITORS,

BY WAY OF

AN APOSTROPHE.

GENTLEMEN,

AS a colour to your diſorderly and unwarrantable proceedings, you impoſe on the ignorant by your cant words of *violation of faith with heretics.* Like Boileau's heroes, you are ranſacking old books, canvaſſing legends of exaggerated maſſacres*, and like ſcholars, who, after

* In their Appeal they relate that a hundred thouſand Proteſtants were maſſacred in 1641 : at that time there were thirty Catholics for every Proteſtant, and a hundred Proteſtants eſcaped for every ſingle Proteſtant that periſhed. Let now a balance be ſtruck, and the numbers of inhabitants

after repeating their leſſon, fling about the bones and ſkulls piled up in charnel houſes, you haunt the living with the images of the dead. Modern philoſophy proves the exiſtence of colours in the eye, but not in exterior objects; what is true in the phyſical world, is more ſo in your ſyſtem of ethics:—the purple hue and black die, in which you would feign miſrepreſent us to our king and the public, are the reſult of our organs; and the abortives you lay at our doors, derive their exiſtence from yourſelves.

inhabitants calculated, and Ireland muſt have been but one large city, as crowded as the ſtreets of Rome in the times of Marius and Sylla. This maſſacre, which ſhould be effaced from the records of the nation, as well as from the memory of man, was begun by a fanatical ſoldiery, who intended to extirpate Papiſts and malignants. Whoever has a mind to be informed about this maſſacre, may read Doctor Warner, Mr. Brooke's Trial of the Roman Catholics, and Doctor Curry's Hiſtorical Memoirs, and his Hiſtory of the Civil Wars of Ireland. But whoever has a mind to be led aſtray, let him read Sir John Temple's (ſecretary to Ireton) ſtupid legend,—The Appeal of the Proteſtant Aſſociations,—and Hume's Theatrical Deſcription, who nevertheleſs reduces greatly the number, which could never amount to five or ſix thouſand. He relates, that in hatred to the Engliſh, the Iriſh uſed to *wound their cows*, and in this torturing ſituation turn them into the woods to prolong their ſufferings. In my opinion, under ſuch a government as was then, they

yourſelves. You would fain deprive us of the rights of mankind, for crimes we never committed; for thoughts which we diſclaim, and whereof the ſcrutineer and ſearcher of hearts is the only competent judge. Thus you imitate the tyrant, who put an inoffenſive citizen to death, becauſe in his uneaſy ſlumbers, diſturbed by the guilt of injuries offered to others, he dreamt that he was cutting his throat. Our actions are the beſt exponents of our ſentiments. Our conduct is peaceable. But, as for you, your actions and conduct betray you, as the roaring, and impreſſion of his claws, betray the lion. And woe to the game that is unprotected by the keeper! In a enlightened age, when the cheerful eyes of philoſophy and religion cannot bear the ſight of frantic fanaticiſm, baniſhed from all quarters of Europe, it found ſhelter among you, with its diſtorted features and numerous train of calamities and evils. Generous hoſts! and worthy of ſuch a gueſt, you ſheltered, you warmed, you gave new life, to a refugee entitled to your patronage. And as a prodigal child, thriving ill in foreign countries, you received him with the arms of a tender parent, you clad him in his *firſt robes*, you killed a fat calf, which the burning rafters of your neighbours houſes have roaſted, and at his reception the ſymphony of *pious raptures* was heard in your ſtreets.

Whilſt

Whilſt in Ireland, the miniſters of religion, in conformity to the goſpel rule, were preaching love and benevolence; whilſt in Ireland ſixty thouſand armed Proteſtants without any control but the great principles of honour, and valour, enemy to degenerate cruelty, were protecting the peaceable citizen and defenceleſs cottager, without any diſtinction of ſects or parties; whilſt the Iriſh Volunteers were ſetting to the world the rare examples of armed legions, without the ſevere ſubordination of military diſcipline, behaving with that noble decorum which precludes complaints, and attracts admiration,—*your* pulpits reſounded with the harſh language of the Savage leader haranguing his warriors, and throwing down the hatchet as a ſignal of deſtruction to the *neighbouring tribes*. Some of your women, diveſted of tenderneſs and pity, ſo peculiar to the fair and delicate ſex, reviving in their perſons the ſavage ſternneſs of the Spartan matrons urging on their ſons to battle, rejoiced in the open day on ſeeing their neighbours houſes in a blaze; and bleſſed God that they lived to ſee the day, when *Popiſh abominations* were purified with fire. One ſhould imagine, that ſuch of you as petitioned the king and parliament againſt granting a free trade to Ireland, ſhould reſt ſa-

ſive neighbours. If you glory in the purity of your religion, and in treading in the ſteps of its author, treat us as Chriſt himſelf would treat us, if he were on earth. He deprived no man of his property, nor of the indulgence and protection of the laws. If you glory in the purity of the Chriſtian religion, call to mind that it ſuggeſts humility, and deference to people of ſuperior power and judgment. Your king, your peers, and your commons, are deemed the firſt in dignity and wiſdom: but I forget that you are well verſed in the Bible, which ſays, "He "that is firſt amongſt you, let him be the laſt." The ſcripture muſt be fulfilled. Take then the lead, and force them to trample on their own laws, and to baniſh their ſubjects.

Mention no longer "violation of faith with "heretics." You *violate* all the laws of civil ſociety. In diſſolving the ties of friendſhip, and pointing out your fellow ſubjects as the victims of legal ſeverity, you ſplit and rend the nation. You weaken its power, and treſpaſs upon the reſpect due to your rulers, whom, inſtead of being the fathers of their people, you would fain force to become the heads of a faction.

You *violate* the ſacred rights of nature. Her bountiful author declares, that 'he makes his 'ſun ſhine on the good and bad.' The light of the

the ſun, the brilliancy of the ſtars, the ſweetneſs of the fruit, the balſamic effluvia of flowers, are diſpenſed with a liberal hand to the Heathen and Idolater. Muſt you deprive your neighbours of gifts common to all Adam's children, becauſe they ſtick to a religion which all your forefathers profeſſed, and which, if wrong, can hurt none but themſelves?

In vain do you attempt to impoſe upon the public, with extracts of ſpurious canons, obſolete decrees, patches of councils, and legends of maſſacres, in order to fix a creed on us. The world knows that Roman Catholics ſway the ſceptre of authority in kingdoms and republics. The very nature then of civil ſociety is a manifeſt contradiction to the creed you impute to us: for, if we are no more than machines veering at the breath of popes and prieſts, whom neither conſcience, religion, the ſacred ties of an oath, nor the fear of God's judgment, can reſtrain, patentees of guilt, and ſure of impunity, we could not form a ſociety, for the ſpace of one year: for, in ſuch a ſociety, the notions of vice and virtue would be confounded; the blackeſt crimes and the pureſt virtue reduced to the ſame level; the diſcipline of morals deſtroyed; the harmony of the body politic diſ-

and if, by a kind of miracle, in ſuch a curſed number of men, a ſecond Abel could be found, the earth would ſoon groan with the cries of his blood. If divines have attempted to demonſtrate the exiſtence of God from the nature of civil ſociety, the very nature of civil ſociety demonſtrates the falſehood of the creed with which you compliment us. And, if the gloomy plan of ſuch a horrid republic pleaſes your imaginations, go and lay the foundations of it, in ſome diſtant part of the earth. Be yourſelves its members and governors; for no Chriſtian could live there.

When the delicate pencils of the Gibbons, Reynals, and Marmontels, will paint the political ſcenery of the eighteenth century,——when on the extenſive canvas, they will repreſent the gloom of long-reigning prejudice ſcattering, as the clouds of night, at the approach of the riſing ſun,——when they will paint the poniard, drenched in human blood, ſnatched from the hand of ſtern PERSECUTION,—the French praying in concert with the Americans,—the Armenians invited into Ruſſia,—the order of Military Merit eſtabliſhed in favour of Proteſtants, in the palace of a Catholic king;—Ireland riſing from the ſea, covered with her Fabii and Scipios, pointing their ſpears to diſtant ſhores, and holding forth the olive and ſheaf of corn to their

their neighbours of all denominations,——when they will contraſt the preſent to former times,—ſhew the happy reſult of a change of ſyſtem, and prove that the world is refined,——You, painted in as frightful attitudes as the group of figures in Raphael's Judgment, with ſtern fanaticiſm in your countenances, a bible in one hand and a fagot in the other,—you, I ſay, will be an exception to the general rule: the world will read with ſurpriſe, that, in ſeventeen hundred and eighty, there have been fanatics in England and Scotland, that gave birth to ſo many illuſtrious writers. Your tranſactions ſhall be recorded in the appendix to the hiſtory of Jack Straw and Wat Tiler; and your chaplains and apologiſts ſhall be ranked with James Nailer and Hugh Peters.

And thus, Gentlemen, I finiſh my Apoſtrophe.

SHOULD Mr. Weſley, or any of his aſſociators, think it worth their while to make any remarks on theſe letters, they cannot juſtly expect a rejoinder. They have ſtarted forth the unprovoked aggreſſors; and, not ſatisfied with attempting to deprive the Roman Catholics of their rights as ſubjects, they have ſlandered and aſperſed their characters. I am no ſtranger to

talogue of old maſſacres, will be drawn out of their mouldering arſenals: arms as ill ſuited to the eighteenth century, as Saul's helmet was to David's head. I will be attacked with the council of Lateran, the wars of the Albigenſes, the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, &c. I am a Chriſtian, and deny the tranſmigration of ſouls. I am nowiſe concerned in paſt tranſactions; or if my religion be charged with them, I have in my hands the cruel arms of retaliation:——

I ſhall divide the charge into two branches, —barbarous actions, and barbarous doctrine. If Mr. Weſley reckons all thoſe who are not, or have not been, in communion with the ſee of Rome, in the number of heretics, and himſelf amongſt them, as doubtleſs he does, I ſhall then lay at his door, all the abominable and ſeditious doctrines taught by thoſe whom he ſtyles heretics, from the time of Simon the Magician, down to our days,—the impurities of the Gnoſtics; the enchantments of the Ophites; the perjury and frauds of the Priſcillianiſts; the errors of the Albigenſes, and millions beſides. If, from theſe diſtant times, I make a tranſition to a nearer æra, I ſhall prove to him, from the works, not only of inſignificant writers of the reformed religion, but of the very founders of the reformation, who aſſumed as much power over their followers, as the pope aſſumes over

the Catholics, that they taught doctrines cruel, immoral, and ſeditious; and that the moſt horrid barbarities were committed in conſequence of thoſe doctrines. Calvin not only commits heretics to the flames, but moreover writes a book in juſtification of his proceedings: and in his commentaries on the ſcriptures, he teaches, that "*Uſury** is lawful." Luther, Malancthon, and Bucer, have authorized polygamy, and permitted a prince to marry a ſecond wife during the life of the firſt. The decrees of the ſynod of Dort, cauſed great perſecutions in Holland. Knox and his followers propagated the goſpel with fire and ſword. I have already mentioned the doctrine of John Huſs, and his maſter Wickliff, ſo inimical to ſovereigns.

If I take a review of the greateſt champions who, within theſe four hundred years, have undertaken the Herculean taſk of overthrowing the kingdom of Antichriſt, I ſee them all claiming a miſſion from Heaven, as well as Mr. Weſley;

* In the news-paper this word is made *venery*, by an error of the Preſs, which Mr O'Leary alludes to, at the concluſion; and for which, and ſome other errors of ſmaller note, the printer made the following apology:

"The printer aſſures Mr. O'Leary, that the errors of "the preſs, which he complains of, were not occaſioned

Weſley, and ſtill overturning thrones and empires. I ſee Germany deluged with oceans of blood; boors headed by fanatical preachers, promiſing the deluded multitude to receive the bullets in their ſleeves, attacking their princes and ſovereigns; taylors paving their way to the throne over heaps of mangled carcaſſes, in order to re-eſtabliſh the *kingdom of Jeruſalem*; *apoſtles* heading armies, and commanding, by their laſt will, their dearly-beloved children reformed from the *errors of Popery*, to make a drum* of their ſkins, in order to rouſe the ſaints to battle; the ſtreets of London enſanguined with the gore of peaceable citizens, deſtroyed by the fifth-monarchy men, proclaiming king Jeſus; communion-tables ſtained with the blood of Proteſtant biſhops; ſcaffolds reeking with the blood of Proteſtant kings; ſolemn leagues and covenants ſealed for the extirpation of Papiſts and Malignants †, and entered into with as much eagerneſs as Annibal entered Italy, after ſwearing the deſtruction of the Romans, upon the Carthaginian altars; the poniard lifted by the hand of religious madneſs, and committing ſuch ſlaughter and carnage, that people propoſe the diſagreeable and odious problem, "Whether religion has been of greater uſe "than harm to mankind?"

* Ziſca, a follower of John Huſs.

† A name given to the Proteſtants of the eſtabliſhed church.

Still I am inclined to exculpate religion from the blame of calamities which can be traced back to the rage of fanatical preachers, the cruelty of governors, the policy and craft of miniſters of ſtate, as to their genuine ſources. "Matters were firſt embroiled in the cabinet," ſays Rouſſeau, "and then the leading men "ſtirred up the common people in the name "of God."

In the midſt of this religious rage, I ſee humanity aſſerting her right, and reſuming her empire: I ſee Catholic governors refuſing to comply with the imperious mandates of a cruel king, and a no-leſs cruel queen, at the time of the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, and Catholic biſhops ſaving all the Proteſtants in their dioceſes: I ſee in Ireland, the great Proteſtant biſhop Bedel with his clans, and thouſands, in the free exerciſe of their religion, in the midſt of a Catholic army, whilſt a Proteſtant biſhop bleeds at the foot of a communion-table in Scotland, for reading the Engliſh liturgy:—— Thus, I am convinced that people of all denominations would be happy together, if their clergy recommended mutual love and benevolence; and that, if we diveſted ourſelves of paſſion, religion would never arm the hand

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the eleventh entered into a league with Proteſtant kings.

Thus, gentlemen, you ſee how the world changes. On the wide theatres ſpread by the revolutions of time, new characters daily appear, and different circumſtances are productive of different events. It is in vain to ranſack old councils, imperial conſtitutions, and eccleſiaſtical canons, whether genuine or ſpurious, againſt heretics, in order to brand the preſent generation of Catholics. In the very city, I mean Rome, where the general council of Lateran was held, Proteſtants are careſſed, and live with eaſe and comfort. Travellers agree, that it is the theatre of civility, benevolence and politeneſs. In the German empire, where, by the conſtitutions of Frederic the Second, heretics were condemned to the ſtake, all religions enjoy full liberty. In ſome places, the Catholic prieſt and Calviniſt miniſter officiate in the ſame church, and biſhoprics are alternately governed by Catholic and Proteſtant prelates. All laws, whether civil or eccleſiaſtical, are done away by time, when the motives that gave them riſe ſubſiſt no longer. And none but a ſlave to bigotry and prejudice will confound the eighteenth with the thirteenth contury. Becauſe Father Roger Bacon was impriſoned as a ſorcerer, on account of his extenſive knowledge in aſtronomy,

my, perſpective, &c. or that Gallileo's doctrine of the motion of the earth was condemned by a numerous tribe of divines, headed by ſeven Cardinals, under the eyes of the Roman pontiff, muſt it be obtruded on the public, that the Roman Catholics muſt conſider the motion of the earth round the ſun, *as hereſy?* or firmly believe that there is magic or witchcraft in the *Camera obſcura*, becauſe father Bacon, who deſcribed it, was ſeven years confined in priſon? Hence from the opinions of men, or the actions of popes, or the diſciplinary canons of councils, or the proceedings of biſhops who compoſed them, in one age, there is no arguing to the belief of men in another. Popes have attempted to abſolve ſubjects from their allegiance to their ſovereigns: it is no more an article of my belief that they could do it by the authority of the keys, than it is an article of my belief, that I can ſtrike a king on the cheek, becauſe Calvin teaches, that, "Earthly princes abdicate their "authority when they erect themſelves againſt "God," and that "we ought rather ſpit in "their faces, than obey them."* Mr. Weſley and the *Aſſociation* would do well to analyſe ſome of that doctor's writings, and Knox's ſermons, and to inſert them in their Appeal, as a contraſt to the obſolete canons which they have

extracted from Sir Richard Steele's appendix:—*Erect themſelves againſt God*, is a phraſe meerly ſpiritual, and of a fatal tendency, becauſe the broachers of ſuch doctrines think it a ſufficient plea againſt kings not inclined to receive the *truths*, they themſelves are prompted to preach; and as every one thinks himſelf in the right, error has many chances for the ſword of authority.

If empire be founded in grace, and not in the rights of nature, or the laws of civil ſociety; if a deviation from the immutable truth that ſaw the world in its cradle, and is to preſide at its diſſolution, be a plea againſt kings; let them be eternally armed with the ſcales of the Leviathan, againſt the barbed irons to which they are expoſed, from thoſe who think themſelves the only perſons enlightened with the rays of goſpel knowledge. Nothing then is to be apprehended from popes. Leſs is to be apprehended from ſpurious canons, or the *memory* of councils which gave up the *ghoſt* ſix hundred years ago. And any inference from the proceedings of the fathers of the council of Lateran, or obſolete texts of the canon law, againſt former heretics, to alarm the Proteſtants of our days, is the fruit of ignorance or malice, or both.——The Proteſtants of our days ſway the ſceptre of authority. Kingdoms and republics, laws and inſtitutions, fœderal unions, and civil compacts,

bleſſings

bleſſings in peace, and triumphs in war, the allegiance of their ſubjects, and protection the reſult of allegiance, record them in the annals of fame, and put them on the ſame level with the Cæſars to whom tribute and ſubmiſſion are due. How are they connected with the motley rabble of heretics, who appeared and diſappeared in former times, overturning and attacking church and ſtate, and attacked by both in their turn. No ſtate acknowledged their power. No band of civil union linked them together;—no ſubjects ſwore allegiance to them;—no Catholic recognized a king, parliament, or magiſtrate amongſt the Albigenſes, whom people dignify with the title of Proteſtants; and whom Proteſtant powers would conſider as the peſt and bane of ſociety, if ſuch were now in their dominions. Diſciples of the Manicheans, they admitted two ſupreme and independent principles; and granted two wives, called Colla and Colliba, to the God of Truth. Had their doctrine been confined to meer ſpeculations, in an age more enlightened than the thirteenth century, when the council of Lateran was held, in all appearance, humanity would pity them, and philoſophy would ſmile at their errors.

But this wild theory was ſtill ſurpaſſed by the moſt monſtrous practices. They conſidered

More could be ſaid; but I am afraid that my readers already bluſh: and whoever dignifies the Albigenſes with the title of Proteſtants, in order to inflame the rage, and kindle the rancour of fellow-ſubjects, by a recital of the ill treatment of thoſe pretended martyrs, ſhould not only bluſh, but hide himſelf.

Let none imagine, that whatever is mentioned in the ſeſſions of a general council, is an article of faith. There are decrees of diſcipline which are at the diſcretion of kingdoms or provinces either to reject or adopt. There are articles of faith which, in our opinion, neither time, place, or circumſtances can alter. Thus, the council of Trent which commands the Roman Catholics under pain of *anathema*, or curſe, to believe the neceſſity of baptiſm and the reality of original ſin, is univerſally received in all Catholic countries, as far as it confines itſelf to the deciſion of ſpeculative points, and propoſes them as articles of belief: but, where the ſame council decrees, that the manor or land on which a duel is fought, with the connivance of the owner, ſhould be confiſcated and applied to pious uſes, it is rejected. Though the motive of the decree is laudable, as it tends to ſuppreſs vice and reſtrain the paſſions: yet, as the means, ſuch as the forfeiture of lands, &c. are quite

quite out of the ſpiritual line, this decree of diſcipline is not received. By the ſame rule, two things are to be conſidered relative to the council of Lateran, often quoted, and as often miſapplied. The fathers of that council have anathematized the errors of the Albigenſes ſo repugnant to reaſon, morality, and the principles of revealed religion, and every ſimilar error extolling itſelf againſt the orthodox faith. So far they confined themſelves within the limits of their ſpiritual provinces, and ſo far every Roman Catholic ſubmits to their decrees. But when they proceeded further, and granted the lands of the perſons whom they condemned as *heretics*, to the Catholics who would take poſſeſſion of them,* no Roman Catholic is concerned in a verdict that diſpoſes of temporal property: for, neither popes nor councils have been appointed as the ſupreme and *infallible* arbiters of ſucceſſion to thrones, the transfer of property, or temporal affairs, by Him who refuſed to compromiſe matters between two brothers, and declared, that *his kingdom is not of this world.* Nor is it to be preſumed, that the ambaſſadors who aſſiſted at the council, would betray the intereſts

* The author ſpeaks in the ſuppoſition of the genuineneſs of the decree. For it is ſpurious, as well as the ſecond

intereſts of their kings, who often excepted againſt the competency of ſpiritual tribunals, as to the deciſion of temporal rights. And as to the diſtinction between articles of faith, and canons of diſcipline, we find it even in the New Teſtament.—

The ſame apoſtles, who preached the divinity of Chriſt, which we all believe, decreed in a council, that the Chriſtians ſhould abſtain from the uſe of blood, and the fleſh of ſtrangled animals.* We believe the doctrine they preached: we overlook the diſcipline they eſtabliſhed, becauſe the prohibition was temporary. The Doctrine is permanent: opinions are fugitive: laws, diſcipline and decrees vary with time. We are but little concerned in the tranſactions of the twelfth or thirteenth century. We are a new world raiſed on the ruins of the former, and if hitherto we could not agree as Chriſtians, *it is high time to live together as men.* If ſpeculative errors be puniſhable, there is a day of reckoning: and eternity is long enough for *retribution*. But during the ſhort ſpan of life, checkered with ſo many anxious cares, let us not reſemble thoſe ſavages who glory in diſpeopling the earth, and carrying the mangled heads of their fellow-creatures on the tops of their reeking ſpears, as ſo many trophies of their barbarous victory.

* Acts, 15th chap.

victory. In vain do we give ourſelves up to hatred and vengeance. We ſoon diſcover that ſuch cruel pleaſure was never adapted to the heart of man: that in hating others we puniſh ourſelves; that humanity diſclaims violence; and that the law of God, in commanding us to love our neighbour, has conſulted the moſt upright and reaſonable dictates of the human heart. The world is tired of religious diſputes, and it is high time for you, Gentlemen, to be tired of me.

It is time to agree to a truce, and leave the field to ſuch champions as are willing to engage in national, and political conteſts, infinitely more uſeful to the public, than the *thread-ſpun* arguments of polemical divinity, decrees of councils, or obſolete canons.

Should any of the champions of the eighty-five legions of Glaſcow, or any of their allies and confederates ſound the trumpet, I ſhall not prepare myſelf for battle. If I attempted to throw fanaticiſm into ridicule, they are welcome to diſcharge at me arrows repoſited in the quivers of the *Spaniſh Friar*, and the *Duenna*. Of what uſe is it to the public, if I have recourſe to Chryſal, or, the Adventures of a Guinea, where our modern apoſtles are taken off in

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If the attack be ſerious, the weapons will be taken from the mouldering arſenals of old councils, popes decrees, and obſolete canons. There it will be a repetition of the ſame thing, *for ever and for aye*, to uſe the words of old Robin Hood. But ſhould Mr. Weſley, or W. A. D—mm—d, or any apoſtle belonging to the *eighty five ſocieties*, intend to be of uſe to the public, I ſhall co-operate with their pious endeavours, with all the veins in my heart.

We have obtained of late the privilege of planting tobacco in Ireland, and our tobacconiſts want paper. Let Mr. Weſley then come with me, as the *curate* and *barber* went to *ſhave* and *bleſs* the library of Don Quixote. All the old books, old canons, ſermons, and ſo forth, tending to kindle feuds, or promote rancour, let us fling them out at the windows. Society will loſe nothing. The tobacconiſt will benefit by the ſpoils of *antiquity*. And if, upon mature deliberation, we decree that Mr. Weſley's Journal, and his apology for the Aſſociation's *Appeal*, ſhould ſhare the ſame fate with the old buckrams, we will procure them a gentle fall. After having rocked ourſelves in the large and hoſpitable cradle of the Free-preſs, where the peer and the commoner, the prieſt and the alderman, the friar and ſwaddler, can ſtretch themſelves at full length, provided they

they be not too churliſh, let us laugh at thoſe who breed uſeleſs quarrels, and ſet to the world the bright example of toleration and benevolence.

A peaceable life and happy death to all Adam's children! May the miniſters of religion of every denomination, whether they pray at the head of their congregations in embroidered veſtments, or black gowns, ſhort coats, grey locks, powdered wigs, or black curls, inſtead of enflaming the rabble, and inſpiring their hearers with hatred and animoſity for their fellow creatures, recommend love, peace, and harmony!

In my univerſal prayer, gentlemen, let me not forget the compoſitor, who, in Tueſday's paper, made me fix a falſe doctrine upon Calvin. Inſtead of *Calvin taught that* uſury *is lawful*, he makes me ſay, *Calvin taught that* venery *is lawful*; and, inſtead of ſaying, *Hence from the opinions of men, or the actions of popes, &c. in one age, there is no* arguing *to the belief of men in another*; inſtead of *arguing*, he makes me ſay *agreeing*.

Thus, by the tranſpoſition of types, and change of words, a compoſitor has more magic than Circe, who metamorphoſed Ulyſſes'

change an old Uſurer into a young Venus,—*uſury* into *venery*, and a wrangling *argument* into a cordial *agreement!* God grant him more exactneſs in printing this; and grant yourſelves and the whole world, peace, health, and proſperity, and grant the curious ſearchers of old books, more humanity, and leſs controverſy.

I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,

your moſt affectionate,

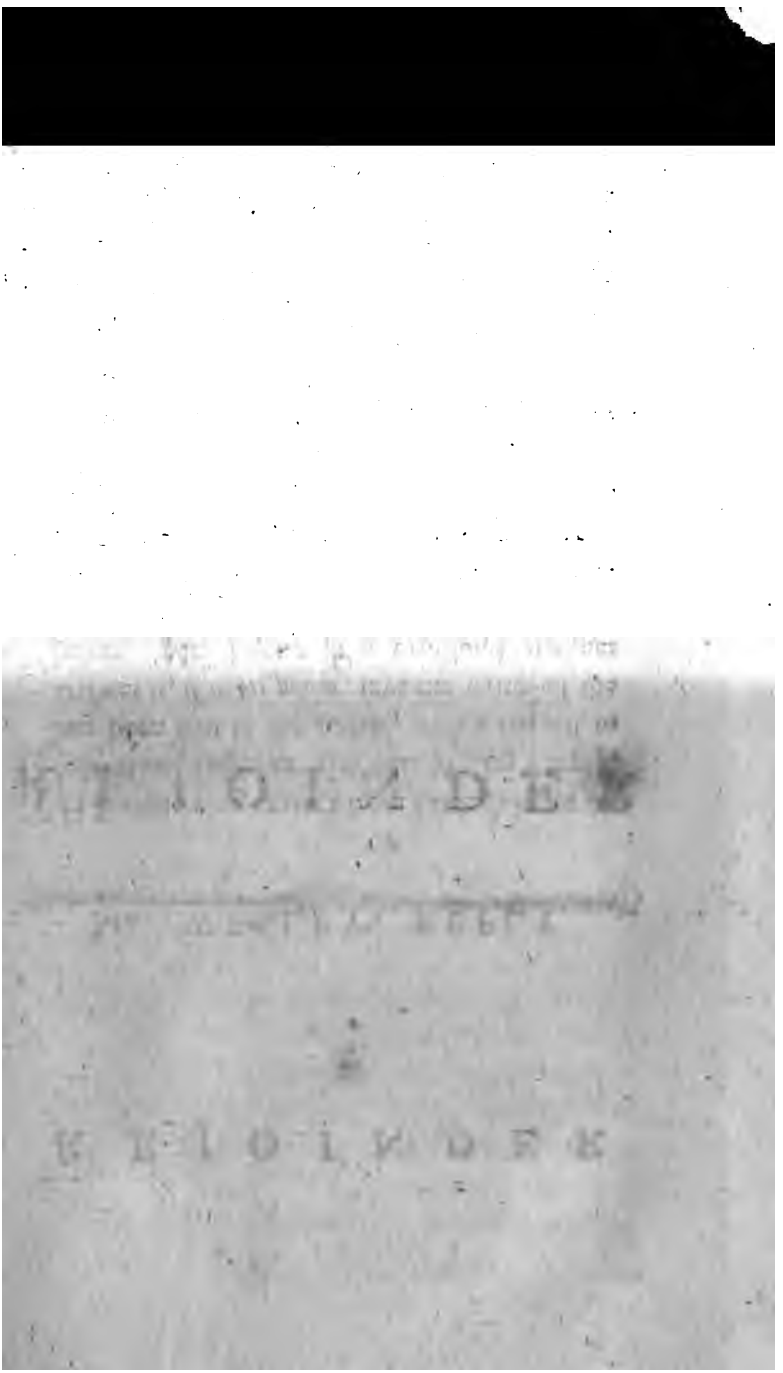
and humble ſervant,

ARTHUR O'LEARY.

REJOINDER

TO

MR. WESLEY's REPLY.



REJOINDER

TO

MR. WESLEY'S REPLY.

THE following extract from Locke's letter on toleration, together with Mr. Weſley's reply, has been ſent to the author, with a requeſt to anſwer it, *if in his power*, ſays the writer of the letter. Mr. Locke in a profound manner opens the gate of toleration to all mortals, who do not entertain any principles injurious to the rights of civil ſociety: but my correſpondent is ſurpriſed that ſuch an impartial writer ſhould make an oblique charge on the Roman Catholics, if it were not grounded on truth.

"WE cannot find any ſect that teaches ex-
"preſsly and openly, that men are not obliged
"to keep their promiſe; that princes may be
"dethroned by thoſe that differ from them in
"religion, or that the dominion of all things be-
"longs only to themſelves.——But nevertheleſs
"we find thoſe, that ſay the ſame thing in other

" words. What elſe do they mean who teach,
" that faith is not to be kept with heretics?
" What can be the meaning of their aſſerting
" that kings, excommunicated, forfeit their
" crowns and kingdoms?——That dominion
" is founded in grace, is an aſſertion by which
" thoſe that maintain it, do plainly lay a claim
" to the poſſeſſion of all things.——I ſay, theſe
" have no right to be tolerated by the magiſ-
" trate."

Again: " That church can have no right to
" be tolerated by the magiſtrate, which is con-
" ſtituted upon ſuch a bottom, that all thoſe
" who enter into it, do thereby, ipſo facto, deli-
" ver themſelves up to the protection and ſer-
" vice of another prince: for by this means the
" magiſtrate would give way to the ſetting up
" of a foreign juriſdiction in his own country,
" and ſuffer his own people to be enliſted, as it
" were, for ſoldiers againſt his own govern-
" ment. Nor does the frivolous and fallacious
" diſtinction, between the court and the church,
" afford any remedy to this inconvenience; eſ-
" pecially, when both the one and the other,
" are equally ſubject to the abſolute authority of
" the ſame perſon; who has not only power to
" perſuade the members of his Church to what-

" order thereunto, but alſo can enjoin it them,
" on pain of eternal fire.

" It is ridiculous for any one to profeſs himſelf
" to be a Mahometan only in his religion; but
" in every thing elſe a faithful ſubject to a Chriſ-
" tian magiſtrate, whilſt at the ſame time, he
" acknowledges himſelf bound to yield blind
" obedience to the Mufti of Conſtantinople;
" who himſelf is entirely obedient to the Otto-
" man emperor, and frames the feigned oracles
" of that religion according to his pleaſure. But
" this Mahometan, living amongſt Chriſtians,
" would yet more apparently renounce their
" government, if he acknowledged the ſame
" perſon, to be head of his church, who is the
" ſupreme magiſtrate in the ſtate."

Locke on toleration, p. 59.

MR. OLEARY'S ANSWER.

MR. Locke's *ſuppoſed principles* are fully anſwered in "Loyalty aſſerted." With every reſpect due to ſo great a man, he has totally miſtaken the Catholics creed. He was born at a time when the nice hand of the legiſlature had not drawn the line between their real and imputed principles. And the prejudices of education often tinge a philoſopher's imagination with the colours of deception. "That the dominion "of all things belongs to the ſaints," was the doctrine of Wickliff, Huſs, and the Engliſh regicides in the time of Charles the firſt: a doctrine condemned by the council of Conſtance, in thirtieth propoſition extracted from Huſs's writings.

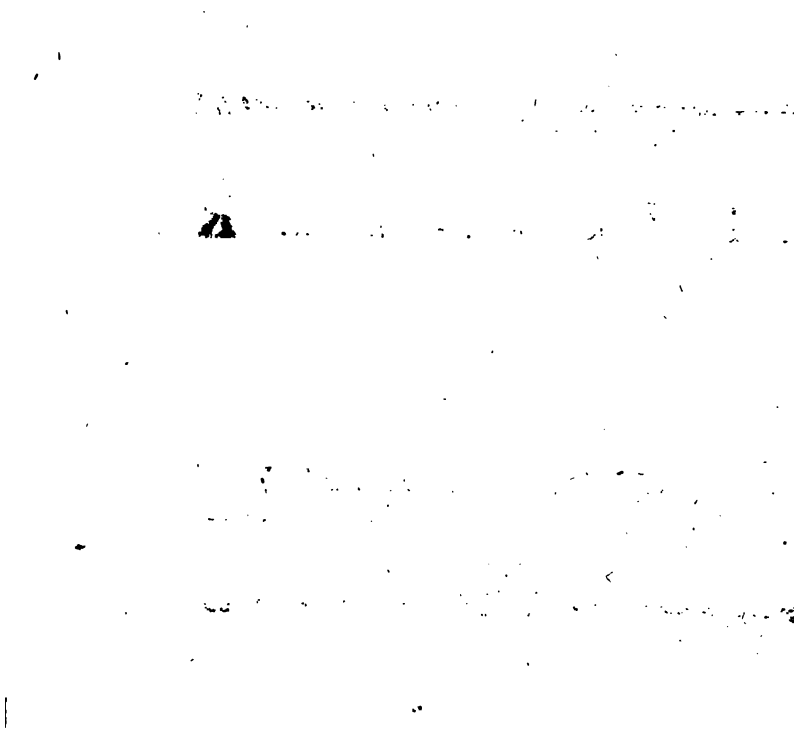
Mr. Locke, in ſhutting the gates of toleration againſt the profeſſors of ſuch a doctrine, fully juſtifies the emperor Sigiſmund in putting Huſs to death: as that unhappy man not only preached, but practiſed it. In matters more within the verge of his knowledge, I widely differ from Mr. Locke. When he denies any innate ideas, or the leaſt notion of a God implanted in our ſouls, independent of the ſenſes,

others who were of a different opinion. But, when he ſuppoſes that "the ſame perſon who "is head of the church, is the ſupreme magiſ-"trate in the ſtate; that the pope can frame "the feigned oracles of Catholic religion, as "the Mufti can frame them for the Turks, by "the direction of the Ottoman emperor; that "he can perſuade the members of his church "to whatever he liſts, and enjoin it them, on "pain of eternal fire," &c. I pity a man miſled by popular error.

The univerſities of Paris, Valentia, Toulouſe, Poictiers, Bourdeaux, Bourges, Rheims, Caen, &c. that is to ſay, the oracles of the doctrine taught in their reſpective countries, knew their creed better than an Engliſh philoſopher could teach them. They have ſtigmatized thoſe aſſertions obtruded on the public by Mr. Locke; and, in condemnation of Santorellus, who aſſerted that the pope could depoſe kings guilty of *hereſy*, qualify his doctrine as "new, falſe, "erroneous, contrary to the word of God, cal-"culated to bring an odium on the ſee of "Rome, to impair the ſupreme civil authority "that depends on God alone, and to diſturb "the public tranquillity."

Such is the doctrine of Catholics; and had Mr. Locke read hiſtory, or been candid enough

to



REJOINDER

TO

MR. WESLEY'S REPLY.

"ferai ardre,"—retract or I will get you burned. An evident proof that the pope cannot "perſuade the members of his church, to "what he liſts; nor enjoin it them on pain of "eternal fire."

For the honour of Locke's memory, let my correſpondent throw the fifty-ninth page of his treatiſe on toleration into the *fire*; for it is a jumble of nonſenſe. He argues from falſe principles taken up without examination.

All the popes bulls from the time of St. Peter, to the end of ages, cannot make an article of faith for Roman Catholics, without the acceptance of the Univerſal Church, and the church has no power over the temporals of kings, much leſs to command any thing againſt the laws of God.

Catholics never follow an arbitrary doctrine. The ſtandard is fixed. The boundaries are preſcribed, and the pope himſelf cannot remove them. They conſider him as the head paſtor of the church. Subordination in every ſociety, requires pre-eminence in its rulers. But his will is not their creed.

As to Mr. Weſley. His reply to me is little more than a repetition of his firſt letter. He

"ever perſecuted." For the truth I appeal to his own conſcience. I appeal to his "Farther "appeal" to men of reaſon and religion, wherein he deſcribes the ſufferings of ſeveral of his followers in England; how he himſelf was dragged by the mob; and the proceedings of a magiſtrate who diſperſed a pamphlet, entitled, "A parallel between the Papiſts and Me-"thodiſts," in order to kindle the rage of the populace againſt him. I appeal to the letter he wrote, many years ago, to doctor Bailey of Cork, wherein he complains that the grand jury of that city found indictments againſt Charles Weſley, who makes the hymns, and ordered him to be tranſported as a vagabond. Mr. Weſley has got the letter printed, with the names of the grand jury. But, after having weathered the ſtorm, the mariner on ſhore forgets his diſtreſſes as well as his ſea-chart.

To ſhew that *his friend*, John Huſs, never "kindled any civil wars in Bohemia, and that "he was quite innocent of any offence what-"ever;" he quotes the following teſtimonial, given to John Huſs, by the biſhop of Nazareth. "We Nicholas, do, by theſe preſents, make "known unto all men, that we often talked "with that honourable man, John Huſs; and "in all his ſayings, doings, and beliaviour,

"have

" have found him to be a faithful man; finding " no manner of evil, ſiniſter or erroneous do- " ings in him, unto theſe preſents." To this Mr. Weſley ſubjoins, a teſtimonial from the archbiſhop of Prague; declaring, " that he " knew not that John Huſs was culpable or " faulty in any crime or offence whatſoever."

Let us now ſuppoſe thoſe teſtimonials to be genuine, and grant them to Mr. Weſley to get rid of a bad cauſe. What advantage can he derive from them? The biſhop of Nazareth declares, that he *talked* very often with John Huſs, and that in their converſation, he *diſcovered* nothing ſiniſter or erroneous in him. Doubtleſs, in converſing with a biſhop who was an Inquiſitor, John Huſs was upon his guard. The archbiſhop " knew not that he " was culpable." The converſation of the firſt, and the *know not* of the other, muſt counterbalance the poſitive and deciſive proofs, produced on a criminal's trial, in preſence of a general council, no ways intereſted in the condemnation of a man, in whom there " was no " evil, nothing ſiniſter or erroneous!" Teſtimonials are often granted to people from tenderneſs, or ignorance, which will avail but little on a trial.

runs thus: "There is no temporal lord, there "is no pope, no biſhop, when he is in the ſtate "of mortal ſin." Huſs himſelf acknowledged this ſeditious propoſition, which authorizes the fanatical ſaint to take the king's crown, if he ſees him but once drunk: or to ſeize the property of the lord of the manor, if, in ſcolding his coachman, he curſes. The fruits of this doctrine were as viſible in Bohemia, as the fruits of Mr. Weſley's Apology for the aſſociations, are legible in the glowing embers of London!

L'Enfant, the Calviniſt hiſtorian of the council of Conſtance, better informed than Mr. Weſley, can inſtruct him in theſe words: "John Huſs, by his ſermons and writings, and "violent and outrageous conduct, had ex- "tremely contributed to the troubles which "then diſtracted Bohemia."*

What becomes now of teſtimonials which carry contradiction on the very face of them, whereas John Huſs was excommunicated a year and a half before he obtained them? Thoſe biſhops, then, muſt have been miſtaken if their teſtimonials be genuine. Each of them muſt have been the Burnet of his days; of whom Proteſtant as well as Catholic hiſtorians remark,

* L'Enfant, B. 3. No. 57.

remark, that he is never to be believed leſs, than when he relates facts, of which he pretends to have been an ocular witneſs.

Mr. Weſley denies that "John Huſs ever "attempted to make his eſcape." He may deny his own journals. Dacher and Reichenthal, two German hiſtorians, preſent at the council, and on whom L'Enfant paſſes the higheſt encomiums for candour and integrity, relate that John Huſs attempted to make his eſcape. Here he violated his ſafe-conduct, and forced his judges to confine him. L'Enfant exhauſts his wit, to invalidate the relation of thoſe, (according to himſelf,) "unprejudiced "hiſtorians." His chief reaſons are, "the "ſilence of the acts of the council about "Huſs's flight." To this it is anſwered, that in the acts of a council, the judicial acts done in full council, are alone related; not every incident that happens in a city where it is held. Hence Huſs's impriſonment is not mentioned. Jerome of Prague's flight is mentioned, becauſe the council ſent him a ſafe-conduct, and the cauſe required to be ſpecified. Secondly, he ſays that "it appears that Huſs was appre-"hended on the twenty-eighth of November; "and conſequently could not eſcape in the fol-"lowing March." Beſides other reaſons, it can

not invalidate the truth of a public fact atteſted by ſuch ocular witneſſes, as L'Enfant deſcribes the two German hiſtorians to have been.

But Mr. Weſley inſiſts, that "the emperor "Sigiſmund granted Huſs a ſafe-conduct, pro- "miſing him impunity, in caſe he was found "guilty." I explained the nature of ſafe-conducts, in my Remarks on that gentleman's letters: and I inſiſt that ſafe-conducts of the kind are never granted. It is enough for ſovereigns to extend the mercy of prerogative to criminals, when they are found guilty by their judges; without ſaying to a rebel, or an incendiary, or to a highwayman: "Go and take "your trial: never fear: I will grant you your "pardon, when you are found guilty, though I "am convinced you are an arrant rogue." They never enter into compacts of the kind with ſuch people. A man who is to take his trial, and has enemies in the way, may call for a ſafe-conduct to go to the place of trial, and return unmoleſted, if he is acquitted: and this was the caſe of Huſs. He offered of himſelf to take his trial, and to ſubmit to the ſentence, if found guilty. He never upbraided the emperor with his breach of promiſe, when he was given up to the ſecular arm; which he would have done, had the emperor given him ſuch an aſſurance. The Huſſites themſelves went, on the faith

faith of a ſafe-conduct, to the council of Baſil, and never alleged breach of faith with John Huſs.

It was, then, in the ſixteenth century, when intereſted men fomented diviſions between Catholics and Proteſtants, that the hand of calumny wrote falſe commentaries on the text of the canon of the council of Conſtance; and handed it down as a theme to religious declaimers, whom the teſt of orthodoxy propoſed by the very council, *will ever ſtare in the face.*

Here is the teſt inſerted in a bull puliſhed with the approbation of a general council, not by the pope in his perſonal capacity, but *ſacro approbante concilio.* "Let the perſon ſuſ-"pected be aſked, Whether he or ſhe does "not think that all wilful perjury, committed "upon any occaſion whatſoever, for the pre-"ſervation of one's life, or another man's, or "even for the ſake of the faith, is a mortal "ſin?"

I have read near upon a thouſand *religious* declamations againſt *popery:* not one of the authors of thoſe invectives has candour or honour to produce that teſt in favour of Catholics: which ſhews the ſpirit that actuates them.

contraſted, on the ſame canvas, the blooming cheek with the frightful ſkeleton, linked together in the ſame group. No. They will paint the Catholic religion in profile, and fix a Saracen's cheek into the face of the Chriſtian. The declaration of a general council, which can afford the leaſt occaſion for cavil, will be eternally held forth, whilſt the decrees of the ſame council, liable to no miſconſtruction, where fraud and perjury, even for the ſake of religion, are condemned, will be overlooked. Bellarmin, Becanus, and thoſe other Knoxes and Buchanans of the Catholic religion, whoſe works are burned by the hands of the executioner in Catholic countries, are dragged from their ſhelves, whilſt the deciſions of the moſt learned univerſities in the world, that condemned the falſe doctrine of thoſe incendiaries, are buried in ſilence. The bee pitches on flowers: but the beetle falls upon nuiſances.

They will be eternally teaſing their hearers and readers with the word *heretic*, without explaining its ſenſe or acceptation. They will erect it as a kind of ſtandard to which all the fanatics of the world will flock to fight the battles of the Lord againſt Antichriſt: and in this confederate army, they will confound the archbiſhop of Caſhel, who fills his ſee after a long ſucceſſion of Proteſtant biſhops, with John Huſs, who ſtarts up on a ſudden, flying in the faces of kings and biſhops. They will con-

found the biſhop of Cork, with Theodorus Sartor, ſtretching himſelf naked before a number of prophets and propheteſſes, who burn their clothes and run naked through the ſtreets of Amſterdam, denouncing their woes, and foretelling the deſtruction of Antichriſt. They will put the achbiſhop of Canterbury on a level with the Patarini, who exclaimed againſt Popery, and held that no ſin could be committed with the lower parts of the body.

In fine, all thoſe monſters that ſtarted up from time to time, and whom our magiſtrates would doom to the rope or fagot, are made good Proteſtants, becauſe they exclaimed againſt Popery: an enumeration of their ſufferings from Papiſts, is enlarged upon; and the Proteſtant biſhop, or the Proteſtant king has no mercy to expect from Papiſts: for ſure they are held in the ſame light, by them, with James Nailer, who, after fighting againſt Papiſts and Malignants, in Cromwell's army, turned prophet, and rode into Briſtol, mounted on an aſs, on a Palm Sunday, attended with numbers of women, ſpreading their aprons before him, and making the air re-echo to loud hoſannahs: "Holy, holy, holy; hoſannah to James Nailer: "bleſſed is James Nailer, who comes in the "name of the Lord!"* Thoſe gentlemen re-

teſtant churches, and put to death by Proteſtant magiſtrates. They never mention the deſcription given of *heretics* by Proteſtant writers; by Godolphin, the Proteſtant canoniſt, and ſir Edward Coke, the Proteſtant lawyer, who both call hereſy, "lepram animæ"—the leproſy of the ſoul. No. Hereſy is the Papiſt's favourite theme. No Proteſtant ever made any commentaries on it.

The ſame uncandid fallacy that lurks under the word *heretic*, with which the Catholics are always taunted, is manifeſt in the ſtrained conſtruction of the canon of the council of Conſtance. A ſpiritual cauſe is to be tried by eccleſiaſtical judges. They declare that "no "ſafe-conduct granted by princes, ſhall hinder "heretics from being judged and puniſhed," (with eccleſiaſtical cenſures and degradation, for their power to puniſh can extend no farther) "and that when the perſon who has pro-"miſed them ſecurity" (from this eccleſiaſtical puniſhment, for no other can be meant by a ſpiritual tribunal) "has done all that is in his "power to do, ſhall not, in this caſe," (the caſe of ſecuring from a ſpiritual or eccleſiaſtical puniſhment inflicted by a lawful ſuperior) "be "obliged to keep his promiſe:" becauſe a promiſe of the kind, made to one of their rebellious clergymen, who corrupts and falſifies their doctrine, is an unjuſt uſurpation of their rights, and ſubverſive of their ſpiritual juriſdiction.

And an unjuſt promiſe, injurious to the rights of another, is not binding, let the tie be what it will. Herod promiſed upon oath to give his daughter whatever ſhe would aſk for. He was not bound to give her the head of John the Baptiſt. If the king of England, without even depriving a ſingle man of his eſtate, bound himſelf by oath, to arrogate to himſelf the legiſlative as well as the executive power; every antagoniſt of popery, from the prelate down to the tub-preacher, would cry out, with the fathers of the council of Conſtance: "He is not, "in this caſe, obliged to keep his promiſe."

In this ſenſe, the canon of the council is to be underſtood. In this ſenſe, the fathers themſelves, the beſt interpreters of their own meaning, underſtood it. In this ſenſe, the Catholic doctors, all over the world, underſtand it: they who are more competent judges of their own creed, than either Mr. Locke or Mr. Weſley. Such of them as are of opinion, that the ſupreme power of the ſtate can make *hereſy* a capital crime, riſe up with indignation againſt the falſe accuſers who ſay that the council authoriſed breach of faith with *heretics*. They write in Catholic ſtates where they have nothing to fear, and leſs to expect, from Mr. Weſley and his London rioters.

tortured conſtruction on me, as an article of orthodoxy. An Arian may as well perſuade the public, that I do not believe in the Divinity of Chriſt, becauſe he does not believe in it himſelf, and tortures the ſcriptures in ſupport of his errors. John Huſs was a prieſt, ordained in the Church of Rome, and ſaid maſs until the day of his confinement. I ſuppoſe Mr. Weſley will not allow, that a temporal prince could deprive his ſpiritual ſuperiors from cenſuring and degrading him, if found guilty of an erroneous doctrine.

Every church claims to herſelf the power of inflicting ſpiritual *puniſhments* independent of the civil magiſtrate—The church of Rome, the conſiſtories of Scotland, and all others. When the council of two hundred arrogated to themſelves, the power of denouncing and abſolving from cenſures, and in conſequence intended to abſolve one Bertelier, Calvin aſcended the pulpit, and, with outſtretched hands, threatened to oppoſe force to force; exclaimed with vehemence of voice againſt the profanation, and forced the ſenate to reſign their ſpiritual commiſſion. Bertelier was *puniſhed* in ſpite of the *promiſe of the civil power*. When Mr. Weſley refuſed the ſacrament to Mrs. Williamſon in Georgia, for oppoſing the *propagation* of the goſpel, in giving the preference to Mr. Williamſon, the layman, at a time when the clergyman intended to light Hymen's torch with a *ſpark of grace*: a conflict

of

of juriſdiction between the clergy and laity was the reſult. Mr. Weſley was indicted; and the following warrant, copied by himſelf into his journal was iſſued.

"GEORGIA. SAVANNAH. ff.

"To all conſtables, tything men, and others "whom theſe may concern.

"You and each of you are hereby required to "take the body of John Weſley, clerk, &c. "&c. &c. Signed, Th. Chriſtie."

"Tueſday, the ninth," ſays Mr. Weſley, Mr. "Jones, the conſtable, carried me before Mr. "Bailiff Parker and Mr. Recorder. My anſwer "to them was—that the giving or refuſing the "Lord's ſupper being a matter purely eccleſiaſ-"tic, I could not acknowledge their power to "interrogate me upon it."* If Mr. Weſley, then, thought himſelf juſtifiable in pleading the clerical privilege, let him not blame the fathers of Conſtance, for declaring their right to *puniſh* with eccleſiaſtical cenſures and degradation, one of their own ſubjects, in ſpite of any ſafe-conduct granted by the civil power; eſpecially at a time when this ſuperiority over their own clergy, was confirmed to the biſhops by the laws of the em-

[redacted]

penſe at that time, than James the ſecond could in his.

"But," ſays Mr. Weſley, "ſure Huſs would "not have come to Conſtance, had he foreſeen "the conſequence." That regarded himſelf. Obſtinate perſons ſeldom think themſelves in error. Strange inſtances of this obſtinacy can be met with in the trials of the regicides: ſome of whom declared, at the hour of death, that they gloried in having a hand in the king's death, and would chearfully play over the ſame tragedy. We have a more recent inſtance of this obſtinacy, in one of Mr. Weſley's martyrs. Scarcely could the Proteſtant clergyman prevail on one of the rioters, who had been very active in plundering the city of London, laſt year, to take the blue cockade out of his hat, in going to the gallows. He cried out that he died a martyr to the Proteſtant religion. We have daily inſtances of people giving themſelves up to take their trial, who are diſappointed, without any imputation on their judges.

Jerome of Prague, who maintained the ſame error with Huſs, came to Conſtance, after his confrere's execution. The council ſent him a ſafe-conduct, with this expreſs clauſe: "ſalvo "jure concilii"—reſerving to the council its right to judge you. He came: and the council judged and *puniſhed* him with degradation, as it had done

done with regard to Huſs; and left him to the ſecular arm: as Calvin, queen Elizabeth, and king James I. did to the *heretics* whom their conſiſtories and biſhops had judged and found guilty of *heretical pravity*. "But was not the em-"peror Sigiſmund cruel in putting thoſe two "men to death?" It is not his lenity or cruelty that we examine. I only vindicate myſelf and the Catholic Church from a ſlanderous doctrine. He was not more cruel for putting ſeditious men, one of whom had committed wilful murder, to death, than Proteſtant ſovereigns who doomed old women to the ſtake, for a kind of gibberiſh about the incarnation. My ſentiments on that ſubject I have explained.

Jerome of Prague's coming to the council, ſhews that it did not violate faith with John Huſs. Neither doth any one accuſe the council of violating faith with Jerome. They were both more obſtinate than Mr. Weſley, who ran away from the bailiffs of Georgia, and would not return to them. In this he followed Sancho's maxim: "Many go to the market for wool, "that come home ſhorn."

AN

ESSAY

ON

TOLERATION:

OR,

MR. O'LEARY'S PLEA

FOR

LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE.

AN

ESSAY

ON

TOLERATION.

THE INTRODUCTION.

MY deſign, in the following pages, is—to throw open the gates of civil toleration for all Adam's children, whoſe principles are not inconſiſtent with the peace of civil ſociety, or ſubverſive of the rules of morality; to wrench, as far as in my power lies, the poniard ſo often tinged with human blood, from the hand of perſecution; to ſheath the ſword, which miſguided zeal has drawn in defence of a goſpel which recommends peace and love; to reſtore to man the indelible charter of his temporal rights, which no earthly power has ever been commiſſioned by Heaven to deprive him of, on account of his mental errors; to re-eſtabliſh the empire of peace, overthrown ſo often by religious feuds; and to cement all mortals, eſpecially

eſpecially Chriſtians, in the ties of ſocial harmony, by eſtabliſhing toleration on its proper grounds.

The hiſtory of the calamities occaſioned by difference in religious opinions, is a ſufficient plea for undertaking the taſk. But time does not allow me to enter into a detail of thoſe melancholy ſcenes, which miſconſtrued religion has diſplayed. The effects are well known: but it is high time to remove the cauſe.

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The miniſters of a religion that had triumphed over the Cæſars, not by reſiſtance, but by ſuffering, became the apologiſts of calamities that ſwept from the face of the earth, or oppreſs to this very day, God's nobleſt images—upright, virtuous, and dauntleſs men. Like the warrior in the ſcriptures, they ſtept into the ſanctuary, to graſp the barbarian's ſword wrapt up in the ephod. The code of temporal laws, teeming with ſanctions againſt robbers and murderers, was ſwelled, to the ſurpriſe and deſtruction of mankind, with additional decrees againſt *heretics* and *papiſts*. The inoffenſive citizen who from an apprehenſion of offending the Deity, by acting againſt his conſcience,

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* Hume's Hiſt. of England, Vol. 4. p. 161.

tombs of victims offered up on the gloomy altar of the Scotch league and covenant, and peopling the region of the dead, for differing in opinion. "Out of every conteſted verſe," ſays the ſatirical Voltaire, "there iſſued a fury, "armed with a quibble and a poniard, who in- "ſpired mankind at once with folly and cru- "elty."

The ſame demon that poured the poiſonous cup over the kingdoms, and provinces of Europe, took his flight over the Atlantic, and ſpread his baneful influence amongſt coloniſts who had themſelves fled from the ſcourge. Their new built cities, like ſo many Jeruſalems, were purified from Idolatry. There no Popiſh prieſt dared to bend his knee to "his idols, or "transfer to ſtock or ſtone, the worſhip due to "the God of Iſrael." There the Quaker-woman's ſilent groans were raiſed on the high key of loud ſhrieks, when the Lord's deputy ordered her profane breaſts to be whipt off by the goſpel ſcourge, that whipped the profaners out of the temple. There the Quaker was ſeen, ſuſpended by the neck on high, for daring to pollute the ſacred ſtreets with his profane feet, *moved by Baal's ſpirit*. The holy city,* thus purged from the *Jebuſeans*, and *Pheriſeans*, was

covenants, the covenant of grace, and the covenant of works, ſoon divided the ſpiritual militants. The jarring of divinity cauſed ſuch diſſentions, that in the preſence of ſixty thouſand ſavages, headed by their warriors, giving the ſignal for ſcaling the walls, to bury the contending parties under their ruins, *grace* would not permit *works* to lend the leaſt aſſiſtance for repelling the common foe. It became victorious over the Indians and Chriſtians. It drove the firſt from its walls, and baniſhed the latter from the city into ſavannahs and deſerts, to procure themſelves ſubſiſtence by the *works* of their hands.

In a word, perſecution on the ſcore of conſcience, has thinned the world of fifty millions of human beings, by fire and ſword. Thouſands, who have eſcaped the ſword and fagot, have periſhed, and are daily periſhing with hunger and want, for their mode of worſhip. The London riots, occaſioned by a pretext of religion, have added about four hundred more, deluded by religious frenzy, to the enormous number. And though they ſuffered as plunderers and incendiaries, yet religious intolerance in their leaders, occaſioned the deluded people's deſtruction.

The hiſtory of the calamities, occaſioned by the goſpel of peace, could be concluded with

I ſhall examine the charter which is pleaded in juſtification of reſtraints on the ſcore of conſcience. The Proteſtant and Catholic are equally concerned in the diſcuſſion. Each would plead for toleration in his turn; and the honour of religion, ſhould be vindicated from the imputation of enormities, which ſhould be transferred to their real principles—I mean the paſſions of men, or their ignorance of the limits which religion itſelf preſcribes to their power. I know the difficulty there lies in encountering prejudices which have a long preſcription to plead. I ſhall be aſked whether I am ignorant of the reſcripts of popes, inſerting in the directory of the inquiſition, the imperial conſtitutions, dooming heretics to the flames; the authority of Catholic and Proteſtant canoniſts, divines, and Civilians, Calvin, Bellarmin, Gomar, benches of Proteſtant biſhops, who gave their votes for enacting the law that doomed myſelf to tranſportation, and to death if ever I return to my native country; though I am conſcious of no crime againſt the ſtate, but that crime of a legal creation, viz. *ſaying my prayers whilſt others are curſing!* Am I ignorant of the practice of ages, which has given a ſanction to fines, forfeitures, impriſonments and death itſelf, on the ſcore of religion? A practice, ſupported by the moſt learned writers of every denomination, and legible in bloody

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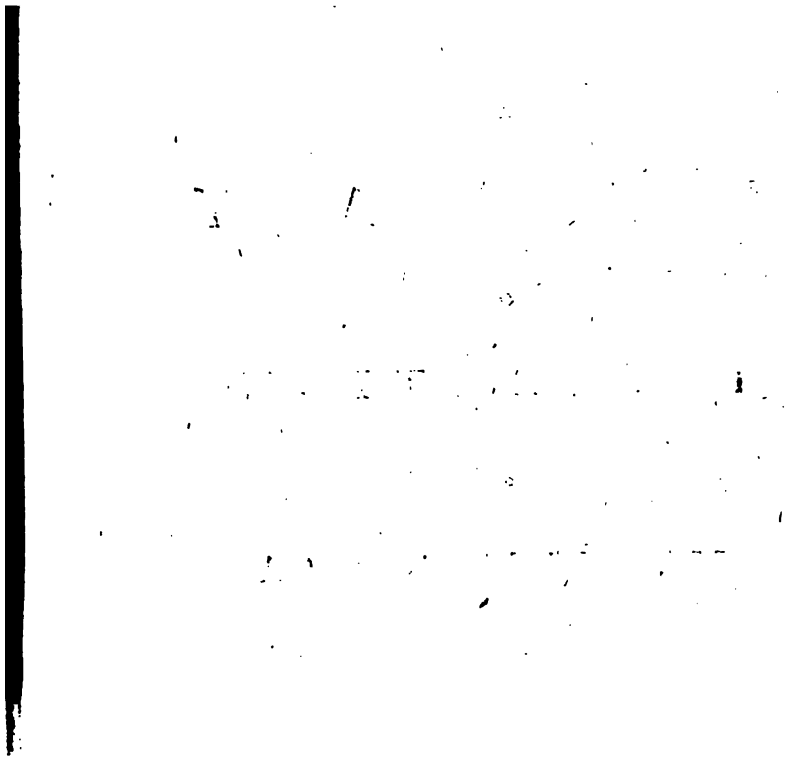

cious of her doctrine, than ſhe was in the time of pope Innocent the Third? Death, fines, and confiſcations, then, on the ſcore of conſcience, when the religioniſt behaves as a peaceable ſubject, are the ungraceful offspring of lawleſs rule. Tyranny begot it: ignorance foſtered it: and barbarous divines have cloathed it with the *ſtolen* garments of religion.

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The hiſtory of the calamities occaſioned by difference in religious opinions, is a ſufficient plea for undertaking the taſk. But time does not allow me to enter into a detail of thoſe melancholy ſcenes, which miſconſtrued religion has diſplayed. The effects are well known: but it is high time to remove the cauſe.

The mind ſhrinks back at the thoughts of the cruelties exerciſed againſt the Chriſtians by the heathen emperors, for the ſpace of three hundred years. Scarce did the Chriſtians begin to breathe, under the firſt princes who embraced their religion, than they fell out amongſt themſelves, about the myſteries of the ſcriptures. Arianiſm, protected by powerful ſovereigns, raiſed, againſt the defenders of the Trinity, perſecutions as violent as thoſe raiſed formerly by the heathens. Since that time, at different intervals, error, backed by power, perſecuted truth. And the partiſans of truth, forgetful of the moderation which reaſon and religion preſcribe, committed the ſame exceſſes with which they upbraided their oppreſſors.

odious counſels,—became the executioners of their ſubjects who adopted religious ſyſtems different from thoſe of their rulers, or perſevered in ancient ſyſtems, from which their ſovereigns had receded.

Had thoſe horrors been confined to one ſect of Chriſtians only, infidels would not have been ſo ſucceſsful in their attacks on the ſyſtem at large; though religion diſclaims the odious imputation. But all ſects execrated and attempted to extirpate one another. Europe became one wild altar, on which every religious ſect offered up human victims to its creed.

The miniſters of a religion that had triumphed over the Cæſars, not by reſiſtance, but by ſuffering, became the apologiſts of calamities that ſwept from the face of the earth, or oppreſs to this very day, God's nobleſt images—upright, virtuous, and dauntleſs men. Like the warrior in the ſcriptures, they ſtept into the ſanctuary, to graſp the barbarian's ſword wrapt up in the ephod. The code of temporal laws, teeming with ſanctions againſt robbers and murderers, was ſwelled, to the ſurpriſe and deſtruction of mankind, with additional decrees againſt *heretics* and *papiſts*. The inoffenſive citizen who from an apprehenſion of offending the Deity, by acting againſt his conſcience,

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was confined in the ſame dungeon, or doomed to the fagot or axe, with the parricide who laid aſide every reſtraint of moral obligation: and the ſcriptures were adduced in juſtification of the ſanguinary confuſion. The wreath and the rod have been held forth, not to crown the worthy, and puniſh the pernicious, but to ſcourge to conformity, candid and ſteady virtue. The prieſt gave the ſanction of heaven to the bloody mandates of the civil magiſtrate: and the civil magiſtrate unſheathed the ſword to vindicate the cauſe of the God of Heaven, who reſerves to himſelf the puniſhment of man's conſcience. No perſon has a greater reſpect for the clerical order, of every denomination, than I have. I am of the number, and feel myſelf wounded through their ſides, when the Deiſt and Free-thinker, who hold them all in equal contempt, contend "that in all ages, and in "all countries, the clergy are the main props "of perſecution. That had they been as ſoli-"citous to heal, and conciliate men's hearts, "as they have been to inflame and divide them, "the world would by this time bear a different "aſpect. That they ſhould have left the laity "in peaceable poſſeſſion of good neighbour-"hood, mutual charity, and friendly confi-"dence. That inſtead of inforcing the great

" always the oppreſſors of thoſe who differ from " them in opinion; and the active and impel- " ling ſpring that gives force and elaſticity, to " the deſtructive weapons of the civil power." In corroboration of the charge, the free-thinker will unfold the page of hiſtory, and open thoſe enormous volumes, made up of religious declamations. He will prove from both, that if " popes and their apologiſts, have ſcattered the " fire-brand, their ſpiritual brethren have faith- " fully copied their example, in ſucceeding " times, wherever their power and influence " prevailed."

" Though the Proteſtant divines," ſays Hume, " had ventured to renounce opinions, " deemed certain for ſo many ages, they re- " garded in their turn, the new ſyſtem ſo cer- " tain, that they could bear no contradiction " with regard to it: and they were ready to " burn in the ſame flames, from which they " themſelves had ſo narrowly eſcaped, every " one that had the aſſurance to oppoſe them."* Hence the ſcaffolds reeking in Holland with the blood of many illuſtrious men, who, after oppoſing Philip the Second's efforts to introduce conformity by fire and ſword, fell themſelves by the hand of the executioner, for denying Gomar's predeſtination. Hence Hecatombs

* Hume's Hiſt. of England, Vol. 4. p. 161.

life, will ſucceed to the acrimony of religious diſputations.

In vain do Calvin, Bellarmin, and other apologiſts of perſecution, arm the magiſtrate with texts of the old law, which commands to ſtone the falſe prophets to death, to put idolatrous cities to the ſword, and "to ſlay Agag be-"fore the Lord." The Jewiſh polity is quite different from modern political inſtitutions. God himſelf was the immediate governor of this ſociety, who worded, by himſelf, their laws and ceremonies,—who blended together their civil and religious inſtitutions,—and who had an immediate power to deprive ſinful man of the life of which he himſelf was the Author. Neither was it every falſe prophet he ordered to be ſtoned, nor every city he ordered to be put to the ſword; but ſuch prophets as ſprang up from amongſt the Jews themſelves, and ſuch cities as belonged to the Jewiſh theocracy,—I mean, cities inhabited by Jews who had been inſtructed in his laws and ceremonies. "If a falſe prophet riſe up "amongſt you, in thoſe days." "The city "which ſhall worſhip gods unknown there be-"fore," &c.

This was rebellion againſt the ſtate which he

which was of ſo peculiar a frame, as to be entirely diſſolved by the introduction of idolatry. As, if a ſet of preachers got up now, and inſtilled into the minds of the people, a doctrine that would overthrow the three powers of the ſtate in thoſe kingdoms, to introduce a democracy; or monarchy into Holland, on the ruins of a republican government,—they certainly would ſuffer in both places, not for their religion, but for treaſon, in attempting to overthrow the reſpective governments.

Hence, the neighbouring cities, plunged in idolatry, which were not under the laws of the Jewiſh theocracy, were not deſtroyed on account of their falſe worſhip, but on account of crimes committed againſt the laws of nature, which had filled the meaſure of their iniquities. And Agag, a name ſo familiar in the mouths of fanatical preachers, in the time of Charles the firſt—and which, to the ſcandal of that age, and the diſcredit of the Engliſh peers and cavaliers, was couched in their addreſs to queen Elizabeth, requeſting the death of Mary, queen of Scots, "as Samuel ſlew Agag." Agag, I ſay, was not put to death for worſhipping his falſe gods, but for his cruelty and violation of the laws of nations: "As thy ſword," ſays the prophet, "has "made many women childleſs," &c.

Senſible

Senſible rewards and ſenſible puniſhments were requiſite for the Jewiſh people. It was requiſite to raiſe a wall of ſeparation between them and neighbouring nations, to prevent the fatal effects of their inclination to idolatry. Their religious worſhip required to be inſeparably interwoven with their civil polity, and conſidered the infringers of the law of God as rebels to the ſtate, and enemies of their country. Their worſhip was an inſtrument in the hands of God, to exterminate people polluted with the moſt abominable crimes. Hence, afflictive puniſhments and death itſelf decreed by the law of Moſes, againſt Jews fallen into idolatry, or into any other crime contrary to the law.

Thoſe inſtitutions were to have an end. The new alliance, promiſed in the old, has levelled the barrier that ſeparated Jew and Gentile,—uniting both in the profeſſion of the ſame faith. It propoſes more ſublime and exalted motives than thoſe propoſed by the Moſaic law. In the room of temporal rewards and temporal puniſhments, it has ſubſtituted thoſe of an inviſible and eternal nature. It acknowledges no ſtrangers: it knows no enemy: it opens a door of mercy to all, and an entrance into its myſteries, without terror or compulſion. It is a delicious

it. Jeſus Chriſt never ſaid: "Whoever does "not follow me, ſhall be miſerable in this "world, ſhall be conſidered as a rebel to the "ſtate in which he lives, unprotected by the "laws, doomed to the fagot, or ſtripped of "his property." He leaves it to every one's choice, either to follow or renounce him: "If "any one chooſe to come after me:" "Siquis "vult." When his very diſciples intended to quit him, he does not retain them by compulſion; but ſays in a gentle manner, "Are you, "alſo willing to quit me?" And it is vain to boaſt a goſpel-liberty, when people are dragged, by confiſcations, forfeitures, and death itſelf, as ſo many forced victims, into the ſanctuary of religion.

It is an abominable palliative to ſay, that though the fathers are bad proſelytes, yet the children or grand-children may be good Proteſtants, or good Catholics: As if the ſon ſhould be put in the way of ſalvation, by the perjury and hypocriſy of the father,—religion propagated by crimes, and evil committed, in conſideration of the good which may ariſe from it, in expreſs oppoſition to the tenets of that religion which forbids it. The religion of Jeſus Chriſt is propoſed to all: and the more univerſal it is, the leſs it employs terrors or conſtraints to enforce obedience to its injunctions. It ſtamps the ſentiments of humanity, dictated by

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the law of nature, with a peculiar character of ſweetneſs and charity.

Scarce had its founder aſſembled a few diſciples, when two of them, ſtorming with rage for being refuſed the rights of hoſpitality, requeſted permiſſion to bring down the fire of heaven on the inhabitants. They imagined themſelves in the times of Elias, when God puniſhed with viſible chaſtiſements the inſults offered to his prophets. Jeſus Chriſt undeceives them: "You know not to what ſpirit you be-"long: the Son of man is not come to kill, "but to ſave." As if he ſaid, both to them and their ſucceſſors: "It is no longer the time of "menaces and torments. You live under a "law whoſe ſpirit is not the ſpirit of terror, but "the ſpirit of confidence and love. The Maſ-"ter whom you ſerve, does not thirſt after "the blood of his enemies: he does not chooſe "to ſee them at his feet, in a fit of rage and "deſpair. Forced homages are odious in his "eyes. Thunder and the exterminating ſword "are not his arms. He is only come to con-"vert and ſave ſouls; but not to deſtroy or "famiſh the bodies of men."

Hence, he has not given to thoſe whom he has charged with the commiſſion of extending

charity towards mankind. He has furniſhed them with no other means of making proſelytes to his religion, but perſuaſion, prayer, and good example. The theocratical government is no longer confounded and interwoven with civil and political inſtitutions. The kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt is not of this world. He leaves the rulers of the earth the full enjoyment of their prerogatives, whether they know him, or whether they blaſpheme his name: and he leaves their ſubjects in full poſſeſſion of their rights, as men.

Jeſus Chriſt does not chooſe for ſubjects but ſuch as freely liſt in his ſervice. Thoſe who are rebellious to his voice he terrifies with the puniſhments of a future ſtate; and has not commiſſioned any power on earth to enlarge, by force, the boundaries of his kingdom. However his creatures may be divided in opinion about ſpeculative points, he has left them one law which is liable to no interpretation, and muſt ever be interpreted in the literal ſenſe: "Love one another: and do not to "others, what you would not have others do "unto you."

Calvin and Bellarmin's remaining arguments conſiſt in ſimiles, and ſome miſconſtrued paſſages of the fathers, who, in their homilies, inveigh againſt errors in faith, as againſt adul-

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tery, forgery, &c. on account of the divorce, a breach of divine faith cauſes between God and the Chriſtian ſoul, and the enormity of *forging* or *counterfeiting* the divine credentials, with the *hand of error*. But the diſparity is obvious. Adultery, forgery, and ſimilar crimes, fall immediately under the juriſdiction of the civil magiſtrate, on account of the injury offered to ſociety, by invading the property of individuals committed to his care. The man who is in error, hurts none but himſelf. If others be miſled by him, it is their own choice, and the reſult of their free will, over which the civil power has no control; nor the eccleſiaſtical power, but as far as it can refuſe ſuch perſons the ſacraments and the other religious ſymbols of her communion, which no church will give thoſe out of her pale, and which no perſon, out of her pale, will require.

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The reader would ſee, in Gothic characters, impriſonment and death decreed againſt the prieſt, for ſaying his prayers; *to pervert or be perverted* to the ſee of Rome, puniſhed as high treaſon; a ſecond refuſal to take the old oath of ſupremacy, liable to a ſimilar puniſhment. He would ſee the neighbour authoriſed to take his neighbour's horſe; the ſon authoriſed to ſtrip the father of his property; the articles of Limerick, under the ſolemn faith of a capitulation, violated without the leaſt provocation on the part of the inhabitants. From thoſe he would paſs to others of leſs importance. He would

would ſee a ſolemn act of the legiſlature, commanding women to declare their own ſhame, and making it high treaſon in them to marry the king, if they were not virgins*; another making it high treaſon in people who ſaw the nuptial-rites performed, and the monarch go to the nuptial-bed with his ſpouſe, to believe that he was married to Anne of Cleves.

The Catholic orator, who would fain be on equal terms with his Proteſtant brother, either in the pulpit or in print, would amplify his theme, enumerate the circumſtances, and, in a long ſtrain of invective, hold forth that it is a principle of the Proteſtant religion, to perſecute to death thoſe of a different religion; to encourage diſobedience and rebellion in children to their parents; to rob a man of his property; to violate the laws of nations; to be ſo incredulous as not to believe their own eyes; and to adminiſter to the paſſions and luſt of their kings: then to produce extracts of their ſtatutes, in corroboration of the charge, and to caſt thoſe horrors on all the Proteſtants in the world!

The candid, impartial man would be more nice than to confound the actions of men, and their poſitive laws, with the principles of the Proteſtant religion. And candour ſhould induce

the miniſters of the goſpel, not to revile the body of Catholics, by extending local regulations, exaggerating facts, and erecting the miſtakes and prejudices of a few, into a religious creed and a ſymbol of orthodoxy for the whole.

Thoſe laws, then, that doom heretics to death, as well as the eſtabliſhment of the inquiſition, are no parts of a Catholic's creed: no more than the fore-mentioned acts of parliament are part of the church of England's creed.

The true religion ſhould be preſerved and perpetuated by the ſame means that eſtabliſhed it,—by preaching the word of God, attended with prudence and diſcretion,—the practice of all Chriſtian virtues,—boundleſs patience and charity.

Machiavel is of opinion, that "diſarmed "prophets never made any conqueſts." Whatever reſpect is due to him, on account of his ſkill in ſanguinary politics and literature, in this maxim he betrays equal ignorance and impiety. No prophet ever appeared more deſtitute of arms than Jeſus Chriſt: no prophet ever made ſuch rapid and extenſive conqueſts,—I mean conqueſts ſuch as he intended to make, by winning the hearts, changing the interior diſpoſitions

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The reader would ſee, in Gothic characters, impriſonment and death decreed againſt the prieſt, for ſaying his prayers; *to pervert or be perverted* to the ſee of Rome, puniſhed as high treaſon; a ſecond refuſal to take the old oath of ſupremacy, liable to a ſimilar puniſhment. He would ſee the neighbour authoriſed to take his neighbour's horſe; the ſon authoriſed to ſtrip the father of his property; the articles of Limerick, under the ſolemn faith of a capitulation, violated without the leaſt provocation on the part of the inhabitants. From thoſe he would paſs to others of leſs importance. He would

We prefer, then, the primitive fathers of the church, to Sylveſter a Prierio, and ſome other canoniſts: and we preſume as much knowledge and zeal for the Catholic religion in Gregory the Great and his predeceſſors, as in any of his ſucceſſors, in ages leſs refined.

The oppoſition given, in Catholic countries, to the eſtabliſhment of the inquiſition,—the death of the inquiſitors by the hands of the people,—and the general odium it raiſed,—prove that the ſparks of the moderation and meekneſs recommended in the goſpel, and practiſed in the primitive times, with regard to people of a different perſuaſion, were not quite extinct, even in the ages of darkneſs and barbariſm. Popes themſelves oppoſed its introduction into Venice: and whether from policy or piety, I ſhall not take upon me to determine.

But Berkely remarks, that, "if policy induced a pope to oppoſe its introduction in "a certain ſtate, policy might have induced "another pope to introduce it into his own."* I am convinced he was not miſtaken in his conjectures.

The pope was in poſſeſſion of a city which formerly gave birth to ſo many heroes, beſides

ſovereigns. He thought it high time to look about him, when all Europe was in one general blaze. The liberty of the goſpel, preached by Muncer and ſeveral other enthuſiaſts, threw all Germany into a flame, and armed boors againſt their ſovereigns. As he was a temporal prince, he dreaded for his ſovereignty, as well as other crowned heads in his neighbourhood; and the more ſo, as his ſoldiers were better ſkilled in ſaying their beads, than handling the muſket.

Great events, the downfal of empires, and the riſe or deſtruction of extraordinary characters, are commonly foretold in oracles, both ſacred and profane; and he found himſelf in the ſame dubious and critical ſituation with Montezuma, when the Spaniards landed in America:

" Old prophecies foretel our fall at hand,
" When bearded men in floating caſtles land."*

Long before the reformation, the dimenſions of his city were taken: the line was extended over its walls; and it was diſcovered that it was the " great city, built on ſeven hills, the " harlot that had made the kings of the earth " drunk with her cup; and that her ſovereign " was Antichriſt, the man of ſin," mentioned by

* Dryden's Indian Queen.

by St. Paul, in his epiſtle to the Theſſalonians, Wickliff, Huſs, and Jerome of Prague, had laid down as a rule, many years before, that "popes, princes, and biſhops, in the ſtate of "mortal ſin, have no power:" and a ſtate of grace was, doubtleſs, incompatible with the character of *Antichriſt*. Jerome of Prague, who was burnt afterwards at Conſtance, to ſhew that Rome was the harlot of the Revelations, after beating a monk, and drowning another, dreſſed, one day, a proſtitute in a pope's attire, with the three-crowned cap, made of paper, on her head, and in her head-dreſs, without being ſo careful of the reſt of her body, leads the female pontiff, half naked, in proceſſion through the ſtreets of Prague, in deriſion of a religion profeſſed by the magiſtrates.

Some *well-bred* divines there are, who juſtify ſuch proceedings, on the principle that it was requiſite, at that time, "to cry aloud, and uſe "a ſtrong wedge to break the knotty block "of Popery." I do not believe there is a well-bred Proteſtant living, who would applaud either *martyr* or *divine*, who would exhibit ſuch a merry ſpectacle in the ſtreets of Dublin or London; or who would ſhed a tear for his loſs, if, after exhibiting ſuch a ſhew in Rome or in

or were ſent to the gallies. The goſpel-truth is no enemy to decency.

St. Paul, in pleading his cauſe before Feſtus, did not inveigh againſt his veſtal virgins, the adulteries of his gods, or the wickedneſs of his emperors. Let a religion of ſtate be ever ſo falſe, the magiſtrate who profeſſes it, will feel himſelf inſulted, when it is attacked in a groſs, injurious manner: and, if apologies can be made for indecenci and ſeditious doctrines, under pretence of overthrowing idolatry, ſome allowance muſt be made for men who think themſelves inſulted by ſuch attacks.

The pope, then, as a ſovereign prince, had every thing to dread, when the thrones of the German princes began to totter from the ſhocks of *inſpiration:* but what ſtill increaſed his alarms, was—the unfolding of the Revelations, which held him up to all Europe, as the Antichriſt, the general enemy of Chriſtians, who ſhould be deſtroyed. Leſt any one ſhould miſs his aim, it was proved from the Revelations, that he was the beaſt with ten horns; and, in bearing down ſuch a game, the world was to be renewed, and the peaceful reign of the millennium, during which Chriſt was to reign with the ſaints on earth, was to begin. The time was approaching. Old John Fox,

Fox, the martyrologiſt, ſays, that "after long "ſtudy and prayers, God had caſt ſuddenly "into his mind, by divine inſpiration, that the "forty-two months muſt be referred to the "church's perſecution, from the time of John "the Baptiſt." This calculation was to bring on the pope's deſtruction about the year ſixteen hundred. Brightman was more preciſe, and foretold the final downfal of the pope, in the year fifteen hundred and forty-ſix: others in fifteen hundred and fifty-ſix: and others in fifteen hundred and fifty-nine. Luther came cloſer to the famous æra; and publiſhed his prophecy, in which it was revealed to him, that the pope and the Turk would be deſtroyed in two years after the date of his oracle. This, certainly, was a cloſe attack on the pope, who, in all appearance, did not like to die ſo ſoon, even of a natural death. He apprehended the accompliſhment of the oracles the more, as at that time almoſt every one was inſpired, and ready to do any thing for the deſtruction of Antichriſt.

Alexander Roſs, in his view of religion, deſcribes numbers of thoſe prophets, and amongſt the reſt one Hermannus Sutor, a cobler of Optzant, who profeſſed himſelf a true prophet, and Meſſiah Son of God: a very dangerous

the prophetic inſpiration, ſtretched himſelf naked in bed; and, after ordering a hogſhead of ſtrong beer to be brought cloſe to him, began to drink in the ſource of inſpiration, and to receive *the ſpirit by infuſion*; when on a ſudden, "he," to uſe the words of Alexander Roſs, "with a Stentor's voice and a horrid "howling, among other things, often repeated "this: Kill, cut the throats, without any "quarter, of all thoſe monks, all thoſe popes. "Repent, repent: for your deliverance is at "hand."* However extraordinary ſuch a character would appear now, yet at that time, inſpiration was ſo frequent, that one would imagine all Germany was a nation of prophets: and Hermannus, who was afterwards put to death by Charles, lord of Guelderland, had credit enough to make proſelytes.

The pope, thus aimed at, as an object of deſtruction, from all quarters,—and ſeeing, almoſt in every nation in Europe, a nurſery of prophets foretelling his ruin, and animating the candidates for ſanctity to undertake the pious taſk,—began to tremble, not only for his territories, but moreover for his perſonal ſafety. He knew that the imaginations of his Italian ſubjects were naturally warm; and that, if but one of them caught

* Roſs's View of Religions. In the appendix, p. 31.

caught the prophetic flame, the ſtiletto would ſoon be darted into Antichriſt. He found Imperial laws already enacted, and as he was a temporal prince whoſe perſon was more expoſed than any highwayman in Europe, he copied thoſe laws into his directory; and erected the Inquiſition as a barrier between himſelf and the formidable foes, who not only foretold his downfal, but encouraged their followers to fulfil the prediction.

The impartial reader, in tracing this formidable tribunal, will diſcover a political eſtabliſhment, and a temporal ſafeguard. None can infer from its inſtitution, that it is lawful by the principles of religion, to deprive a man of his life, preciſely on account of his worſhip: and every one muſt acknowledge, that, if ever a prince, whoſe life and territories were in danger, was authoriſed to take the ſevereſt precautions to ſecure both, no mortal could plead for greater indulgence in having recourſe to rigorous meaſures, than one who united in his perſon the dignity of a prince, which at that time was both an object of envy and deteſtation to people who conſidered ſovereignty as ſubverſive of Chriſtian liberty, and the character of a ſovereign pontiff, which made him paſs for an outlaw, and the great enemy of Chriſt, in whoſe deſtruction

deſtruction the world was ſo deeply concerned. Let any perſon put himſelf in his caſe, and judge for himſelf.

It is, then, to thoſe authors who diſgraced themſelves, and expoſed the oracles of the Chriſtian religion to the deriſion of infidels, with their fanatical calculations, their beaſts, horns, and ſtrained allegories of ſeven hills,—it is to the rage of people who could not take more effectual ſteps to get him ſtabbed in his church or his palace,—and to the terrors of a man who thought himſelf juſtifiable in providing for his perſonal ſafety,—that the world is indebted for the inquiſition in Rome. Its fires are daily extinguiſhing, in proportion as prophecy is diminiſhing; and the liberality of a refined age diſcovers no horns on the head of a Ganganelli, or Benedict the fourteenth, who united in their perſons the grandeur of kings, the diſcretion of biſhops, the elegance of courtiers, and the learning of philoſophers.

The two laſt prophets I have read who have brought the pope's deſtruction nearer our own times, are Whiſton and Burroughs. The firſt foretold that the pope's deſtruction would happen in ſeventeen hundred and twenty-four. And the ſecond, finding Mr. Whiſton's prophecy

phecy contradicted by time, began himself to prophesy that this great event was to happen in seventeen hundred and sixty. Yet, since those two prophets "have been gathered unto "their fathers," the air of Rome has not been embalmed with the effluvia of the smoaking blood of a Jew: and in Spain and Portugal, we hear no longer of human victims being offerred up as "a sacrifice of agreeable odour to "the Lord."

In those two kingdoms, the inquisition owes its origin to causes much similar to those which gave it rise at Rome: but causes, however, which did not so immediately affect the sovereign, who was blended with the common mass of monarchs, without any peculiar distinction to expose him to the hatred of mankind; or to afford his assassin a plea of impunity, by alleging that he was the deliverer of the world, by ridding it of the enemy of the Son of God, described in the prophecies of Daniel, pointed out in the Revelations, and whose downfal was foretold, at such a time, by the most celebrated interpreters of scripture.

The Spaniards struggling for a long time with Mahomet's followers who had invaded their country, and reduced them not only to the

moſt abject ſlavery, but moreover forced them to ſupply the fire of their luſts with continual fuel, by ſending an annual tribute of Chriſtian virgins to their ſeraglio, made at laſt that great effort ſo memorable in hiſtory.

It is well known that before the final defeat of the Moors, and their total expulſion from the Spaniſh dominions, they were preparing, under hand, for war, and had their leaders already choſen. Baniſhed for ever from a kingdom where they had trampled on the laws which all Chriſtians, and even heathen fathers deem moſt ſacred, a barrier to their return was erected: and, as by their own laws, every Chriſtian who has any connection with a Mahometan woman, is to paſs through the fire, the tables were turned on themſelves, and the expectants of an earthly paradiſe were threatened with the fagot, if they returned to initiate the children of Chriſtians in their myſteries.

The moſt effectual way to remove prejudices, is—to put one's ſelf in other people's ſituation. And if the eſtabliſhment of the inquiſition ſeems ſevere and unreaſonable, it muſt be acknowledged, that the love of life, and the abhorrence of oppreſſion, are paſſions that very often overpower reaſon itſelf. No man would chooſe to be conſidered as an outlaw on whoſe head

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extending beyond the limits of reaſon, and confounding the ſacred rules of equity, which proportion the puniſhment to the offence. Thus, in Holland, a ſubject forfeits his life, if he kills a ſtork, when a few dollars would be a ſufficient penalty; eſpecially for a Dutchman. In England, the cutting down a cherry-tree in an orchard is a capital offence. And in Ireland, I have ſeen two men put to death,—the one, becauſe a ſheep was found in his bawn, which the real thief had left there; and the other, for a miſerable calf-ſkin, which he bought on the high-road, from the man who ſtole it; and who, doubtleſs, did not inform the purchaſer of the manner in which he had acquired it:—when the laws dictated by God himſelf, decreed no more than the reſtitution of an aſs, againſt the thief who had ſtolen one from his neighbour; and a four-fold reſtitution againſt the man who ſtole an ox.

If princes and other rulers, then, magnify objects in ſuch a manner as to make trifles capital, in conſequence of their power, to which they imagine no bounds ſhould be preſcribed; let us not be ſurpriſed if monarchs, who thought themſelves the delegates of Heaven, and anſwerable for any crime againſt the Divinity which they would countenance in their

It was with difficulty that king Edward the ſixth was prevailed on, not to commit his ſiſter Mary to the flames. For he could not reconcile to his conſcience, to permit his ſiſter to live in idolatry, when it was in his power to check the progreſs of ſuch a diſorder.

We ſee, by the different edicts againſt heretics, in the Theodoſian code, that the firſt Chriſtan emperors did not, however, conſider religious error as a ſufficient cauſe for capital puniſhment. Conſtantine grants a free toleration to all Chriſtians, in one of his edicts: in another, he reſtrains this indulgence to the Catholics alone. In one edict, he orders the churches to be taken from the Donatiſts: in another, he moderates the rigour of this edict, by permitting them to return to their country, and to live there in quiet: "reſerving to God "the puniſhment of their crime."—Remarkable words! We have ſeen before, how the primitive fathers oppoſed ſanguinary executions, and pleaded for liberty of conſcience. St. Hilary earneſtly requeſts the emperor Conſtantius to grant his ſubjects liberty of conſcience, whether they be Arians or no.

If, then, in an age enlightened by the works of the fathers, and after the example ſet by Conſtantine, the emperor Theodoſius condemned Manicheans to the fire; it muſt be

more owing to abominable practices, than to ſpeculative errors. And, if ſucceeding emperors continued the ſame rigour, it is that ſedition or immorality or both, kept pace and were incorporated with ſpeculative deviations. Scarce an age, ſince Theodoſius's time until of late years, but brooded ſome immoral or ſeditious doctrine, which armed the magiſtrate's hand with the exterminating ſword. Great part of St. Auſtin's time was taken up in pleading for mercy with the African governors, in favour of the Donatiſts and Creſcellians, who continually exerciſed the greateſt cruelties.

Another age gave riſe to the Patarini and Runcaires, who amongſt other errors maintained, that no mortal ſin could be committed by the lower part of the body. The theory was reduced to practice: and, doubtleſs, the magiſtrate was rouzed to ſeverity.

The Albigenſes ſaid that God had two wives. Marriage, however, was condemned, without conſidering chaſtity as a virtue. In deteſtation of the ſacrament of the altar, churches were turned into receptacles for the unhappy votaries of Venus: and in the ſanctuary where the magiſtrate was accuſtomed to ſee the miniſter of religion officiate, nothing could be ſeen but

cifer; inveighed againſt God for condemning that rebel-angel to darkneſs; held that one day he would be re-eſtabliſhed, and they ſhould be ſaved with him. Whereupon, they taught that, until that time, it was not requiſite to ſerve God, but quite the contrary; and reduced their theory to practice.

To write the hiſtory of all the ſects which gave riſe to the ſevere ſanctions of kings, from the time of the emperor Theodoſius down to the ſixteenth or ſeventeenth century, would be to attempt writing a hiſtory of all the horrors and abominations of which abandoned man is capable. In this long ſpace of time, the ſects moſt free from any mixture of immorality, gave umbrage to the civil power, by their ſeditious tenets and inſurrections.

Huſs's doctrine, in Bohemia, ſowed the ſeeds of civil wars. Wickliff's doctrine, in England, was productive of ſimilar fruits. The fagot did not blaze in England until the Lollards began to overturn the ſtate. In the ſixteenth century, what wars, what commotions, in Germany, in conſequence of fanatical deluſion! The moſt moderate Proteſtant divines of that age, complain in their writings, of the confuſion introduced by ſectaries. Heylin, in his coſmography, talks of ſome of them "begotten in rebellion,

"born in ſedition, and nurſed by faction." And doctor Walton, in the preface to his Polyglote, ſays, that "Ariſtarchus heretofore could "ſcarce find ſeven wiſe men in Greece: but "that, in his time, ſo many idiots, were not to "be found: for all were divinely learned. "Hence," continues the doctor, "the bot-"tomleſs pit ſeems to have been ſet open: "and locuſts are come out with ſtings,—a nu-"merous race of ſectaries who have renewed "all the ancient hereſies, and invented many "monſtrous opinions of their own." In examining, then, the laws enacted againſt heretics, and tracing them up to their origin,—in taking a review of the times and circumſtances in which they were enacted, and the tenets of the perſons againſt whom they were levelled,—in weighing the emperor Conſtantine's words, already quoted,—and obſerving the inſtability of his opinion, in the change of his laws, we can, with every reaſon, preſume that error in doctrine was never deemed a ſufficient title to deprive a man of his life or property, by the moſt pious and enlightened Chriſtian legiſlators.

Immorality or ſedition, mingling with the ſpeculative opinion unpuniſhable in itſelf by any civil tribunal, drew the vengeance of the

the magiſtrate, not on account of the particles of gold or ſilver, but on account of the baſe metal, which predominates and debaſes it. If time, civilization, commerce, a more extenſive knowledge of mankind, and the rights of ſociety, helped the mind to work off the feculence of pernicious opinions, as rough wines work off their tartar—Freedom of thought, its inalienable prerogative was at laſt reconciled amongſt moſt men with the principles of morality, and the peace of ſociety. Men have changed: but long habit and the power of rule have ſtill, in many places, kept up laws which confound miſtaken notions of a ſpiritual nature, with practical principles which diſturb the order of ſociety. Hereſy is of too indeterminate a ſignification, to become the object of legal vengeance. And to puniſh a man for *Popery*, is to puniſh him becauſe another pronounces a word of three ſyllables. Let the *Heretic* and the *Papiſt*, who rob, ſteal, murder, preach up ſedition, rebellion, immorality; ſuffer like all other felons. But the magiſtrate who puniſhes an honeſt, peaceable man, for following the religion of his education, and the dictates of his conſcience; and the legiſlators who authoriſe him to do ſo;—both forget themſelves and the rights of mankind.

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Whence, then, came thoſe rigorous laws on the ſcore of religion to be introduced? If ſpeculative errors, unconnected with principles ſubverſive of ſubordination and morality, have been the only motives, it muſt be acknowledged, that they originated in an abuſe of power, and an error of fact, as well as of right, which made princes believe that, as they were the arbiters of life and death, they could puniſh all kinds of crimes, whether againſt God, or the peace of civil ſociety. In matters more immediately within the reach of the civil magiſtrate, the laws of all nations afford inſtances of power extend-

extending beyond the limits of reaſon, and confounding the ſacred rules of equity, which proportion the puniſhment to the offence. Thus, in Holland, a ſubject forfeits his life, if he kills a ſtork, when a few dollars would be a ſufficent penalty; eſpecially for a Dutchman. In England, the cutting down a cherry-tree in an orchard is a capital offence. And in Ireland, I have ſeen two men put to death,—the one, becauſe a ſheep was found in his bawn, which the real thief had left there; and the other, for a miſerable calf-ſkin, which he bought on the high-road, from the man who ſtole it; and who, doubtleſs, did not inform the purchaſer of the manner in which he had acquired it:—when the laws dictated by God himſelf, decreed no more than the reſtitution of an aſs, againſt the thief who had ſtolen one from his neighbour; and a four-fold reſtitution againſt the man who ſtole an ox.

If princes and other rulers, then, magnify objects in ſuch a manner as to make trifles capital, in conſequence of their power, to which they imagine no bounds ſhould be preſcribed; let us not be ſurpriſed if monarchs, who thought themſelves the delegates of Heaven, and anſwerable for any crime againſt the Divinity which they would countenance in their

It was with difficulty that king Edward the ſixth was prevailed on, not to commit his ſiſter Mary to the flames. For he could not reconcile to his conſcience, to permit his ſiſter to live in idolatry, when it was in his power to check the progreſs of ſuch a diſorder.

We ſee, by the different edicts againſt heretics, in the Theodoſian code, that the firſt Chriſtan emperors did not, however, conſider religious error as a ſufficient cauſe for capital puniſhment. Conſtantine grants a free toleration to all Chriſtians, in one of his edicts: in another, he reſtrains this indulgence to the Catholics alone. In one edict, he orders the churches to be taken from the Donatiſts: in another, he moderates the rigour of this edict, by permitting them to return to their country, and to live there in quiet: "reſerving to God "the puniſhment of their crime."—Remarkable words! We have ſeen before, how the primitive fathers oppoſed ſanguinary executions, and pleaded for liberty of conſcience. St. Hilary earneſtly requeſts the emperor Conſtantius to grant his ſubjects liberty of conſcience, whether they be Arians or no.

If, then, in an age enlightened by the works of the fathers, and after the example ſet by Conſtantine, the emperor Theodoſius condemned Manicheans to the fire; it muſt be

" ſtrife and quarrels; but to be gentle, affable,
" and patient towards all mankind; and to re-
" prove with modeſty thoſe who differ from
" him in opinion. Let them only treat you
" with rigour, who know not how difficult it
" is to find out the truth, and avoid error.
" Let thoſe treat you with rigour, who know
" not how rare and painful a work it is calmly
" to diſſipate the carnal phantoms that diſturb
" even a pious mind. Let thoſe treat you with
" rigour, who are ignorant of the extreme dif-
" ficulty that there is to purify the eye of the
" inward man, to render him capable of ſeeing
" the truth which is the ſun and light of the
" ſoul. Let thoſe treat you with rigour, who
" have never felt the ſighs and groans that a
" ſoul muſt have, before it can have any know-
" ledge of the Divine Being. To conclude, let
" thoſe treat you with rigour, who never have
" been ſeduced into errors near akin to thoſe
" you are engaged in.

" I paſs over in ſilence, that pure wiſ-
" dom, to which but a few ſpiritual men at-
" tain in this life: ſo that though they know
" but in part, becauſe they are men; yet,
" nevertheleſs, they know what they do know
" with certainty: for in the Catholic church, it
" is not penetration of mind, nor profound

"knowledge, but ſimplicity of faith, which "puts men in a ſtate of ſafety." *

To ſuch an illuſtrious authority we ſhall add another. Salvianus, biſhop of Marſeilles, diſcourſing on the Arian Vandals, ſpeaks as follows: "They are ignorant of what is com-"monly known among other men; and only "know what their doctors have taught them, "and follow what they have heard them ſay. "Men ſo ignorant as theſe, find themſelves "under a neceſſity of learning the myſteries of "the goſpel, rather by the inſtructions that are "given them, than by books. The tradition "of their doctors, and the received doctrines, "are the only rules they follow, becauſe they "know nothing but what they have taught "them. They are then heretics, but they know "it not. They are ſo in our account, but they "believe it not, and think themſelves ſo good "Catholics, that they treat us as heretics; judg-"ing of us as we do of them. We are perſuad-"ed that they believe amiſs, concerning the di-"vine generation, when they maintain the Son "inferior to the Father: and they imagine that "we rob the Father of his glory, who believe "them both to be equal. We have the truth "on our ſide, and they pretend it is on theirs.

"We

* Auguſtinus contra epiſtolam fundamenti.

"We give to God his due honour, and they "think they honour him better. They fail "in their duty, but they imagine they perform "it well; and they make true piety conſiſt in "what we call impious. They are in a miſtake, "but with a great deal of ſincerity; and it is "ſo far from being an effect of their hatred, "that it is a mark of their love of God; ſince "by what they do, they ſhew the greateſt re-"ſpect for the Lord, and zeal for his glory. "Therefore, though they have not true faith, "they nevertheleſs look upon that, as a perfect "love of God. It belongs only to the Judge of "the univerſe, to know how theſe men will "be puniſhed for their errors at the laſt "day."*

"As to what is concealed from the know-"ledge of mortals," ſays St. Chryſoſtom, "let "the ſearcher of hearts determine, who alone "knows the meaſure of knowledge, and the "quantity of faith: whoſe judgments are in-"ſcrutable, and ways unſearchable."†

Religion, then, recoils at the thoughts of ſtripping the victim for his mode of worſhip. We ſhould make allowance for the weakneſs of our fellow creatures; and reflect that few perſons view objects in the ſame light. What

makes a deep impreſſion on one, makes but a ſlight impreſſion on another. Univerſal orthodoxy has never been eſtabliſhed, ſince Cain has built the firſt city, and ſeparated from the children of God, nor ever will to the end of time.

Amidſt the dark and doubtful images of things, the ſport of the paſſions, the prejudices of education, the diſputes of the learned, and the clouds that hang over weak and fluctuating reaſon, it is hard to ſeparate the clear from the obſcure, truth from error, and to aſſign them their proper ſituations in light, and ſhade. Add to this what I remarked before, that faith is a gift of God, to which the heart muſt be diſpoſed by the operations of an interior grace, which God alone can give, and which is obtained more by prayer than by diſputing. If we take a ſurvey of nature itſelf, which God has given up to the diſputes of men, the ſmalleſt inſect baffles our ſevereſt ſcrutiny. From the ant up to the elephant, and from the germination of a blade of graſs, to the immenſe bodies that ſwim in the yielding ether above, every thing is an inexplicable myſtery. The very ſoul with whoſe nature we ſhould be better acquainted, and from whoſe active powers we derive our faculties and judgment, is a torch with which we are enabled to view the univerſe, and yet

our

our philoſophers know not where it ſhines. Some aſſign the brain for the ſeat of this immortal ſpirit. Others the blood; others the pineal gland; and others, unable to comprehend how matter and ſpirit can be ſo cloſely interwoven, as to form one compound called man, aſſert that the ſoul abides at a diſtance from the body, and influences it as the ſun influences certain plants, that turn round and humour its motion.

What an immenſe library could be made up of all the books on this immortal ſpark that animates us! Whether it exiſted before its union with the body,—Whether it undergoes the ſame fate of extinction,—If it ſurvives, whether it goes to the ſilent ſhades of the dead, naked, or clothed in a thin pellicle, impereeptible to the anatomiſt's eye, but qualifying it in the other world for feeling the ſmarting ſenſations excited by tormenting fire, which otherwiſe could not affect a pure ſpirit, without having recourſe to an extraordinary power, the miraculous exertion whereof is ſpared by this coat of imperceptible *ſkins*, cut for the ſpirit in a philoſopher's brain——The ſoul's ſtate and reſidence in the long interval between death and the final conſummation of all

Burnet, the learned author of the Theory of the earth, laughs at the purgatory of the Catholics; but ſtrikes into a path in which few Proteſtant divines would chooſe to take him for their guide. He admits none to the clear ſight of God, until after the reſurrection; heaps up teſtimonies to vindicate prayers for the dead; eſtabliſhes *Hades*, a receptacle for ſouls, and a middle ſtate where they expect the coming of Chriſt, and the ſound of the laſt trumpet.*

If, from ourſelves, and nature that ſurrounds us, we make an excurſion into the region of myſteries, with what darkneſs has not God overſpread "the face of the deep!" What diſputes between Catholic and Proteſtant writers on one ſide, and the Arians and Socinians on the other, about the divine generation of the Son of God! what a deluge of blood ſpilt on that occaſion, when the Arians were ſupported by powerful emperors, who drew the ſword to decide the controverſy!

Should one of the Bramins come amongſt us, and after ſtudying our languages, ſit down to read the ſcriptures, to conſult our writers, and to determine upon the choice of a religion, what a laborious taſk! From the time of Pelagius, down to our days, what diſputes about original

* In his book De Statu Mortuorum et Reſurgentium.

ginal ſin! How could it be propagated to a child whoſe body could not ſin, whoſe ſoul came pure from its Creator's hands, whoſe father and mother were purified themſelves from original ſtain, and guiltleſs in complying with the inſtitutions of God and nature. Let this Bramin read the works of the Divines of the church of England, in favour of infant baptiſm, he will regret his not having been conſecrated to God before the uſe of his reaſon. When he reads the Anabaptiſt divines againſt infant baptiſm, he will rejoice that he did not enter too ſoon into a covenant, whereof he did not know the conditions and terms.

When Barclay publiſhed his apology for the Quakers, he cut out a good taſk for the Divines of the church of England, who were obliged to diſplay their erudition in order to refute him.

If from baptiſm we paſs to the Lord's ſupper, what difficulties to encounter! What arguments againſt the real preſence by Zuinglius, Calvin, Du Moulins, Claude, Tillotſon! And what formidable opponents have not thoſe writers to engage, in the perſons of Luther and the Lutheran Divines; Boſſuet, Arnauld, and the numerous tribes of Catholic Doctors! Text for

ants take their weapons from the ſame arſenal, and handle them with ſurpriſing addreſs and ſkill.

If the church of England be conſulted on the important myſtery, her anſwer only puzzles and perplexes:

"What is the inward part of the ſacrament?

"The body and blood of Chriſt, verily and "indeed received by the faithful."

For as doctor Burnet remarks, the Divines who compoſed the liturgy, had orders to leave it as a ſpeculative point, not determined; in which every perſon was left to the freedom of his choice.* If the divines, after ſearching the ſcriptures and fathers, call philoſophy to their aſſiſtance, Mr. Locke, one of its oracles, will tell them, that the idea of body and the idea of place, are ſo cloſely connected, that it is impoſſible to conceive one body in two different places at the ſame time. Carteſius, who was the firſt that diſpoſſeſſed Ariſtotle of his throne, Gaſſendi, that famous prieſt, who revived and improved Epicurus's ſyſtem of atoms, Caſſini, and thouſands beſide, were as well acquainted as Locke, with the nature of place and bodies, and doubtleſs his ſuperiors in the knowledge of

* Hiſtory of the Reform. b. 3.

the mathematics; yet they could diſcover no contradiction in the ſame body being in different places at the ſame time, when once they ſuppoſed the interpoſition of infinite power, and the pliancy of ſpace and matter, to the irreſiſtible will of omnipotence, which can neither create or annihilate them.

Thus, after a laborious excurſion into the provinces of philoſophy and theology, the philoſophical divine muſt return back to the firſt elements of logic and grammar, that treat of the modes of ſpeech; and, from the combination of time, place, circumſtances, the nature of the teſtament, or laſt will of a man on the eve of his death (but a man who united in the ſame perſon, the ſinleſs weakneſs of humanity, with the power and nature of the Godhead), determine whether he ſpoke in a literal or figurative ſenſe. For place and body, matter and ſpace, are incomprehenſible riddles which the greateſt philoſophers are at a loſs how to unravel. The ſenſations of cold, hunger, thirſt, pain, and pleaſure, convince us ſufficiently that we have bodies, whoſe daily decay we are continually repairing with ſleep and aliment. We are, in like manner, convinced that there is ſuch a thing as *place*, when we remove from the fire-

ſtate between life and death; dreaming ſometimes that we are ſovereigns, ſwaying the ſceptre of authority; and at other times, trembling under the hand of the executioner, who has the axe in his hand to ſever the head from the body, or the rope to ſtrangle us; alternately enjoying the grandeur of kings, and undergoing the puniſhment of criminals, without the reality of either. The different impreſſions we receive from the ſun, moon, and ſtars, ſcorching flames, and refreſhing ſprings, make us believe that there are other bodies in nature, beſides thoſe frail machines we carry about us.

In a word, ſenſations from within, and impreſſions from without, concur to convince us that there are places and bodies. The arguments of divines, and the ſeverity of human laws, in ſupport of thoſe arguments, conſigning thoſe bodies to priſon, death, baniſhment, or hunger, are collateral proofs that we have thoſe bodies, and that we feel their exiſtence by means of painful ſenſations. Yet the immortal Berkely, biſhop of Cloyne, has proved by arguments hitherto unanſwerable, that there is no demonſtration for the exiſtence of one ſingle body in nature. He has reconciled the Catholic and Proteſtant philoſophers and divines, about the real preſence, by cutting off, at one blow, both *body* and *place*.

Our whole life, according to this ſyſtem, adopted by ſeveral learned men, is but one continual ſcene of deluſion. Objects we never ſaw, during the day-time, are preſent to us in our ſleep, and make a deep and laſting impreſſion. Who knows, then, but all the actions we perform, when we imagine ourſelves awake, are real dreams? We are ſpirits created millions of years before the Moſaic account.

In that pre-exiſtent ſtate, we gloried too much in our knowledge; and, as a juſt puniſhment, we are given up for a ſhort time to dreams and deceptions, not on earth, or in corruptible bodies, for there are no ſuch things, and whoever ſays there are ſuch things, can never prove his aſſertion: but the great theatre on which we play the ſportive farce, is nothing elſe than God's immenſity, which can never fall within the reach of corporeal organs, eyes, ears, hands, &c: for the exiſtence of ſuch organs is a mere deluſion.

Origenes, the moſt learned of the fathers, who wrote ſix thouſand books, and was complimented by Porphyry, the heathen philoſopher, was of opinion, that the ſouls of men were angels, who, in the great conflict between

been as well verſed in philoſophy, as our modern writers, he would have confined himſelf to ſpirits, and granted bodies no exiſtence in the claſs of beings.

Happy for millions were the philoſophers ſyſtem founded in reality, and that we had no bodies! For the diſputes of theologians have deſtroyed and famiſhed a good part of the creation. We have every reſpect for the Chriſtian religion and its miniſters of all denominations, and without any doubt, for that ſyſtem in which we have had the happineſs of being reared up. But we are extremely ſorry that religion has ever been made a pretext for perſecution or oppreſſion.

We have taken the liberty, in the courſe of this treatiſe, to glance at ſome religious as well as philoſophical ſyſtems, to ſhew the weakneſs of reaſon, and the impoſſibility of eſtabliſhing univerſal orthodoxy.

Should this treatiſe fall into the hands of any of our legiſlators, in whoſe power it is to eaſe the necks of their inoffenſive ſubjects from the galling yoke of oppreſſion; we expect from their wiſdom and feelings, that they will no longer conſider difference in religion as a ſufficient reaſon for hindering the young gentleman from purchaſing a pair of colours, and fighting the

the battles of his king and country; the induſtrious citizen from realizing the fruits of his labour, in getting landed ſecurity for his money, and purchaſing an eſtate, deſcendible to his children; the phyſician, the opulent farmer, the man of property, from carrying a gun, a ſword, a caſe of piſtols, for their defence from the attacks of the midnight aſſaſſin or highwayman; the clergyman, who inſtils the principles of good morals into the minds of the ignorant who would follow the fierce inſtinct of ſavage and uncultivated nature if they were deprived of their paſtors, from the protection of the laws, which now leave them expoſed to the caprice and fury of every ruffian, in whoſe power it is to ſhut up their chapels, and get them tranſported: When it is obvious that ſuch reſtraints ariſe from ſpeculative points diſputed on a narrow ridge by the greateſt men the world has ever produced,—when philoſophers themſelves are bewildered in their notions,—and when the learned are at variance, about matters far beyond the reach of the bulk of mankind.

Should it be ſaid that theſe laws are ſeldom put in force; it can be anſwered that the liberty of the ſubject, which is the birth-right of man, ſhould not depend on the capricious benevo-

[redacted]

all: and the ghoſt of intolerance, more deſtructive than Attila's ſword, ſhould vaniſh on the approach of the rays of benevolence, which are now blazing all over the continent. Attila's ſword deſtroyed but ſuch as it met in its way: but the rage of religious feuds has thinned the world of fifty millions of human beings; and is ſtill trampling, in theſe kingdoms, on compaſſion, on equity, on national intereſt.

In Ireland, where ſuch ſcandalous ſcenes have not been exhibited, as laſt year in Scotland and England, the ghoſts of thoſe legiſlators who enacted the penal code, are ſtill looking, with a clouded, malevolent joy, over the long waſtes and deſolated paſtures they have made in a fruitful country; and ſupplying the want of the ſword and fagot, with a more laſting and tedious torment,—I mean, the hunger and diſtreſſes of thouſands.

The liberality of the times, the intereſt of the kingdom, the wiſdom and humanity of our rulers, every thing cries aloud for the repeal of laws enacted on the ſcore of conſcience. If ſubordination and policy require what, in every country, is called a religion of ſtate, though in fact an encroachment on the natural rights of man, when it excludes him from the privileges to which he is entitled by nature: yet this happy

happy ſyſtem of toleration could be introduced by excluding in this kingdom the Catholics from any high offices under the crown: ſecondly, from the privilege of ſitting in the ſenate: thirdly, if the uſe of arms gives any umbrage, from the privilege of carrying them, except to ſuch as have a mind to ſerve their country in the army, or ſuch perſons as are poſſeſſed of a real or perſonal eſtate, amounting to whatever value the legiſlature thinks fit to determine: all other laws, heretofore enacted, to be null and void. The kingdom would ſoon flouriſh: and the brilliant example, ſet to ſuch princes as have not as yet thrown open the gates of toleration, would reſcue mankind from the heavy yoke which miſconſtrued religion has laid on their necks.

The Author of nature intended men for ſociety; and entitles every man to the advantages of that condition, who is free from all principles and practices injurious to the *civil good* of ſociety. The great Giver alone can repeal the univerſal charter. He has not done it: and I hope that I have ſufficiently proved that he has not delegated that power to any of his creatures.

The rulers of the earth, whether Catholics or Proteſtants, owe all ſocial benefits to their loyal ſubjects of every denomination. If one of theſe powers

powers withhold their people's native rights, it is no excuſe for the other, that their conduct is countenanced by their neighbour's example. Honour, humanity, and the rights of mankind, ſhould ſuggeſt to modern legiſlators to repair the loſſes, cauſed by their predeceſſors miſguided zeal. And as the clergy of all denominations, conſider themſelves as the delegates of heaven, and inveſted with the commiſſion to preſcribe a mode of worſhip to man, let them propoſe it in a manner that may ſecure its triumph over the heart; brighten it up with the genial rays of humanity, benevolence, and love, and not cloud it with the ſullen gloom of ſeverity, oppreſſion, and diſtreſs. For Chriſt who is the Creator of all, has not declared in his goſpel, that one ſhould be excluded from the protection of the laws, and perſecuted for his worſhip; and the other authorized to famiſh, ſtarve, and inſult the weakneſs of a fellow creature.

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live peaceably with them, and not to torment them on account of any ſyſtem of belief they have adopted. If we forcibly enliſt men into the Church, we ſhall only make them prevaricators and hypocrites. The power of the Church is *purely ſpiritual*; and this is ſo true, that the firſt Chriſtians ſuffered themſelves to be butchered, rather than rebel againſt the edicts of the heathen Emperors: and our bleſſed Redeemer himſelf, when he prayed for his executioners, taught us how his cauſe is to be avenged. Had the miniſters of the goſpel been always careful to follow that divine model, the enemies of Chriſtianity had not been able to bring againſt it the unjuſt reproach of being a perſecutor. The Church always diſavowed thoſe impetuous men, who ſtirred up by indiſcreet zeal, treat thoſe who go aſtray with aſperity: and its moſt holy Biſhops, in all times, ſolicited the pardon of apoſtates, deſiring only their converſion. Men therefore ought not to impute to the Church, thoſe exceſſes of which hiſtory has preſerved the memory, and which are repugnant to the maxims of the Goſpel. Ganganelli, Lett. 5. 4. See his diſcourſe on the ſpirit of the Church, and on Religion.

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powers withhold their people's native rights, it is no excuſe for the other, that their conduct is countenanced by their neighbour's example. Honour, humanity, and the rights of mankind, ſhould ſuggeſt to modern legiſlators to repair the loſſes, cauſed by their predeceſſors miſguided zeal. And as the clergy of all denominations, conſider themſelves as the delegates of heaven, and inveſted with the commiſſion to preſcribe a mode of worſhip to man, let them propoſe it in a manner that may ſecure its triumph over the heart; brighten it up with the genial rays of humanity, benevolence, and love, and not cloud it with the ſullen gloom of ſeverity, oppreſſion, and diſtreſs. For Chriſt who is the Creator of all, has not declared in his goſpel, that one ſhould be excluded from the protection of the laws, and perſecuted for his worſhip; and the other authorized to famiſh, ſtarve, and inſult the weakneſs of a fellow creature.

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F I N I S.

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SEVERAL perſons requeſted I would give a hiſtory of the London riots: I promiſed to undertake the taſk, and in conſequence began to digeſt my materials. I afterwards reflected, that the duty of the hiſtorian, bound him to arraign at the impartial tribunal of truth, both men and actions; unmaſk the leading characters; examine into their motives; lay open the hidden ſprings of proceedings, whether worthy of applauſe, or deſerving to be doomed to cenſure; embelliſh his narrative with ſuitable reflections; and, by ſpreading the wide theatre, without reſpect to time or perſons, inform the living, and become the monitor of the unborn. I afterwards conſidered my own ſtate, expoſed, in conſequence of the penal laws, to the inſult of every ruffian; and, comparing the defenceleſs ſituation of the prieſt with the duty of the hiſtorian, I dropped the attempt.

No perſon is obliged to write a hiſtory; but when he writes it he muſt tell the truth: and when we tell the truth in talking of the living, it is hard to avoid giving offence.

If my correſpondents be not ſatisfied with this apology, let them point out a method whereby I can remove the difficulty, and I ſhall publiſh a hiſtory of the riots, in London itſelf, with my name to it: for I diſclaim anonymous productions.

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